



EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

EDITED BY THE

REV. M. CREIGHTON, M.A.

RISE OF THE PEOPLE AND GROWTH

OF PARLIAMENT

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EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

RISE OF THE PEOPLE

AND GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT

From the GREAT CHARTER to the ACCESSION of HENRY VII.

1215-1485

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WITH FOUR MAPS.

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RISE OF THE PEOPLE

AND

GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

In the period of history which this little work deals with, the things that are most worthy of notice are these:—

1. How Parliament grew up into its present shape.

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- How Wales was joined to England; and how an attempt was made to join Scotland also, but without success.
- How some English kings strove to win the kingdom of France; and how the English people were thus drawn into a war which lasted for more than a hundred years.
- 4. How great changes came over the people in social matters; how Parliament grew stronger, and some men tried to reform the Church.
- How the barons, towards the end of this period, divided into two parties, and fought for different kings; and how the land was filled with disorder and bloodshed.

To show all these things as clearly as possible, a Book has been given to each; and in this Book the story of each has been told, apart by itself, as much as could be done. Thus, when the growth of parliament is spoken

of, no notice is taken of the other things which happened at the same time, because it seems better to tell these under other heads. So the reigns of the different kings have not been kept apart, as is done in many histories; and in passing from one Book to another the order of time in which things happened is not followed. It is seldom found in history that events of great importance start into being all at once; the causes that lead to them go on working for a long time before; and to understand the way in which they take place, it is often needful to begin very far back indeed. In this way the chief things that happened under each head have come to be told under their own head. But that the learner may be able to see the order in which the kings who reigned in this time came after one another, and the order in which events happened, a table has been put at the end which tells both these things.

BOOK I.

THE GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT.

1213-1297.

CHAPTER I.

PARLIAMENT.

I. In many ways the thirteenth century is the most interesting of the middle ages. It was a century of great men,

great thoughts, and great deeds. But to all thirteenth of English birth or descent its great glory is, that in it the institution which it is England's chief pride to have founded—Parliament—first grew and was shaped into the form which it still keeps. We might

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t intet men, to all ory is, land's w and might almost think that this century had been set apart for this special purpose; it had hardly well begun when the movement towards the building-up of parliament set in, and a few years before it ended Parliament received its finishing touch from the hands of its most intelligent builder, Edward I. Parliament is, moreover, the one abiding result of all the seemingly blind struggling and fighting, in the battle-field and elsewhere, of all the fore cast and effort, which made the reigns of John, Henry III and Edward I. among the most stirring in our history.

2. In one sense Parliament was no new thing even at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Already-indeed it might be said from far earlier times-everything that goes to the making of a perfect parliament was to be found in England. By a parliament is meant a national assembly in which all the classes which make up the people of a country are brought together, either in person or by men chosen to represent them. When so met together they talk about, and give a common opinion upon, matters of importance to the whole people. To make this assembly worthy of the name of parliament, no part of the kingdom, and no class of the people whose affairs it deals with, can be shut out from it. Now it is clear that the vast bulk of the people can be present at such an assembly only through their representatives-men chosen by them, and having full power to act for them, and to bind them as completely as if they were themselves presc. . A full parliament is the whole nation gathered together to do the business of the state. To Parliament are entrusted all the rights and lawful powers that belong to the nation; whatever it does the nation does.

3. Now in the reign of John, and earlier, England had a Great Council of the nation, and had also councils in the shires or counties. At the national council men from

all parts of the country had a right to be present, but those who had this right could only be present themselves,

Parliament and could not send representatives. At the shire moots, or county courts, groups of men the thirteenth century.

The purpose, represented the whole free folk of the shire, and did business for them. Now Parliament grew up by mixing together the great council and the county courts. When men were sent to the great council to represent the folk of the shire, in the same way as men had long been sent to represent different parts of the shire in the shire court, then we have Parliament. This was done in the thirteenth century; the men who helped most to do it were Simon de Montfort and King Edward I.

4 The National Council in John's time was a gathering, at the king's bidding, of all who held their lands directly Thenational from the Crown, both clergymen and laymen. It was like the Meeting of the Wise Men in early times, only more people sat in it, and they were the king's feudal vassals, no longer merely the men of weight in the kingdom. But already the body of tenants-inchief-as those who held their lands direct from the king were called-had split up into two groups, the greater and the lesser. The greater barons held large lands, and had a right to do business directly with the king. The lesser barons held smaller lands, and dealt with the king only through the sheriffs of their counties. The greater barons, being made up of the greater nobles and the chief dignitaries of the Church, became the House of Lords in the full-grown Parliament. The lesser barons, as time went on, seem to have mixed with the other folk who held lands in the shires. Their representatives were the knights of the shire who sat in the House of Commons.

5. But the Shire-moot even in the twelfth century was a perfect parliament of the shire. To it came not only all

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the landholders of the shire, clerical and lay, but also twelve lawful men from each borough, and four men with the reeve from each township. They were The bound to meet the king's justice when he came shire-moot into their shire, and help him to do the king's business, in judging lawsuits and other matters. Thus in the beginning of the thirteenth century we have all that is needed to make a full parliament of the kind that now meets at Westminster. We have a national assembly, and we have the custom of doing the nation's business through men whom the people have chosen to act for them. We have, too, little parliaments in the shires which might be used as patterns for making a national parliament.

6. As early as 1213, signs that the National Council was about to take the shape of the Shire-moot began to show themselves. In this year John summoned to the great council which he called at St. Albans not only the hishops and the barons, but also the reeve and four lawful men from each town ship in the royal demesne, as the lands the king kept in his own hands were called. A few months later he commanded the sheriffs of the several counties to 'cause to come' to him at Oxford, 'four discreet men' from each county, to 'talk with him' on the affairs of the kingdom. The parliament of St. Albans is believed to be the first clear case in our history of a national representative assembly.

7. It is, moreover, worthy of notice that everything that went to make up our Parliament is of English origin. The notion of giving certain classes of the people a place in the highest assembly of the nation, by means of men chosen to represent them, was nothing new. It was only the same principle that had been acted upon in the local meetings of the English from the earliest times. The national council

was what the Meeting of the Wise became after the Norman conquest; and the shire-moot was among the very oldest institutions of the country. But the word 'parliament' (from the French word 'parler,' to talk) is foreign, and was in use on the Continent long before it appeared in England; and the parts that make it up were brought together by the way in which our foreign kings ruled the nation. If the Norman conquest had not taken place, an assembly like our parliament might have come into being, but it could hardly have been the same as that which we now have.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIGHT TO KEEP THE GREAT CHARTER.

1. WHEN the barons parted from King John after making him sign the Great Charter in June, 1215, their work was not even half done. They had won the Great Charter; but a harder task was still before them-to Baronial keep it. England had to endure two years war breaks out again. of civil war, disorder, and misery before the Great Charter could be made sure. For John was as false to his word in this as in every other thing he did or said. A few months after the day of Runnymede he put himself at the head of an armed force that had been hired for him on the Continent and had gathered on the southern coast. The barons marched against him with their followers. At first John was everywhere successful. Pope Innocent took upon himself to condemn the conduct of the barons and annul the Charter; and when the barons would not submit to his judgment he excommunicated them. At the same time the great archbishop, Stephen Langton, went to Rome to plead before Innoaking k was arter; n—to

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cent the nation's cause and his own; but he was for bidden to go back to England until the troubles were ended. The barons, too, acted feebly and began to look to France for help. John was thus able to work his wicked will upon the country for a season. He took Rochester, and then setting his brother, the Earl of Salisbury, with a part of his mercenaries, to keep watch on London, where the strength of his enemies lay, he led the rest northwards. For the moment there was nothing to stop him. He went through England, burning and ravaging; entered Scotland, whose king had taken part with the barons, set Berwick on fire, mercilessly wasted the Lowlands, and turning southwards while it was still winter, recovered Colchester, which had been lost in his absence. London was now the last shelter of English freedom.

2. Soon, however, the tide turned. The barons had been for some time in treaty with France; and in May, 1216, the heir to the French crown, Lewis, Lewis of landed in Thanet with a powerful army. France Lewis was the husband of Henry II.'s England. granddaughter, Blanche of Castile, and now came to England to try and win the crown which the English nobles had offered him as a means of escaping from the power of John. John, distrusting his foreign troops now that a prince of their own race confronted him, fell back upon the western shires; and Lewis led his army to London, where he was warmly welcomed. For a time all went well with the barons and their ally. John's hirelings deserted him in great numbers; even his brother Salisbury passed over to the enemy; and in a few months little of his kingdom remained to him except the Welsh marches and a few strongholds, such as Dover, where Hubert de Burgh fought nobly for a cause that seemed utterly lost.

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3. But John was not beaten yet. The barons became after a time suspicious of their ally and jealous of French influence; the national dislike of foreigners began to work in the minds of the people; and Lewis was losing ground in England. John was able to march into the midland counties, to drive off the besiegers of Windsor, and even to relieve Lincoln. The relief of Lincoln was, Death of however, his last exploit; as he was on his John. way back he was seized with a serious illness at Swineshead, and died at Newark (October, 1216).

4. The men who were on John's side at once set up his son Henry, a lad nine years old, in his place. Pope Innocent III. was now dead; but Pope Hono-Henry III. 1916-1972. rius, who came after him, behaved in the same way. His legate, Gualo, crowned the young king at Gloucester, received from him the oath of fealty to his master, and threw all the influence of the Roman Church into his scale. William Marshall the elder, William Marshall. the great Earl of Pembroke, an old statesman who had taken part in the troubles of Henry II.'s time, was chosen 'ruler of the king and kingdom.' One of his first acts in his new office was to re-issue the Great Charter in a great council at Bristol. It was not, First however, quite the same charter as that which re-issue of Great Char-John had granted; something was added, but still more was taken away, the sixty-th-reclauses of the original charter being cut down to fortytwo. Most of the points which were left out were of small importance; but two of them were a real loss. These were, (1) that which set bounds to the royal will in raising scutages and aids, and (2) that which bound the king to call togeth, the national council in a formal manner when he want of to assess other than the lawfully fixed scutages or aid. The final clause, however, held out a hope that these might afterwards be restored.

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This acceptance of the Charter by the king's friends was an act of great wisdom. It shook to its base the alliance between Lewis and the barons, and for the first time in the struggle enlisted the papal power in the cause of English freedom. First in the list of distinguished men who appear as advising that the king should give way and agree to the Charter, was Gualo, the papal legate.

5. The death of John in reality gave the victory to the party of the young king, which now came to be looked on more and more as the national party. Many who had taken up arms against the tyranny of the father, saw no reason to continue the struggle with the son, especially as great part of what they were fighting for had been freely granted them. So they at once joined the king. A short truce gave both sides time to gather together all their strength for the decisive struggle. When the truce was over the main body of the French moved, under the Count of Perche and Robert Fitzwalter, to the siege of Lincoln castle. Whilst so engaged they were fiercely attacked in the town by Pembroke's army and utterly routed. The Count of Perche coln, 2217. was killed; Fitzwalter and many other men of high rank were taken; and the besieging force slain or scattered. So easily won was the victory, and so great, was the spoil gained by it, that it was called the Fair of Lincoln (May, 1217).

6. Yet Lewis did not give up the contest; it needed another defeat to drive him from England. By the efforts of his wife, Blanche, a fresh force was raised in France and sent towards the English coast in a fleet of eighty ships, commanded by Eustace the Monk, a notable pirate of the day. But this force never landetl. For in the meantime Hubert de Burgh had slipped out of Dover, gathered together about forty ships from the southern ports, and pushed after Eustace. He overtook him off

Sandwich, and at once fell upon the French fleet. Partly by skilful seamanship, partly by valour and daring, he entirely overthrew it (August, 1217).

7. Lewis was now closely besieged in London. Seeing no hope of relief, he yielded. A treaty was made at Lambeth, in which he and his English Peace of Lambeth, followers received favourable terms. 1917. one of them was to suffer for the part he had taken against the king. Lewis was to be paid a certain sum, which was said to be owed him, but was, perhaps, really given to get him to go away sooner. This treaty was followed soon afterwards by re-issue of a second re-issue of the Great Charter. Some new clauses were added, raising the number ter, 1217. to forty-seven; but those which had been left out in the Charter of 1216 were not restored. Six weeks later another charter, that of the Forest, was published. In this the forest clauses of the Great Charter were embodied; and it disforests, or puts again under the common law of England, all the forests created in the two previous reigns. By this charter, also, the men who dwelt within those forests that were left could no longer be punished so brutally for killing the king's deer as they had formerly been, and were allowed to plough their lands and do other things that were needful for making their farms productive.

CHAPTER III.

THE BARONS' WAR.

1. AFTER the peace of Lambeth the land had rest from civil war for forty-six years. Often during these years there was disorder and discontent on every side; but from

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people took up arms against injustice in high places. It seems indeed to have been a fairly prosperous and happy time for the folk who dwelt in the Henry III. country; and it is certainly a time of great importance to the men of after-days; for in it gradually grew up those forces which created Parliament.

Let us notice the important things which helped on the growth of Parliament: (I) There was a slow but steady advance of the custom of representatives of the people going to the great assembly of the nation. (2) There grew up for the first time a practice which became very common and very useful in later days—that of granting money to the king in return for his solemnly acknowledging the nation's rights. (3) The wrongs which the nobles had to endure from the Court became so manifold and were so galling to their pride as to rouse them at last to take steps to put a stop to them.

2. (1) The first of these points is seen in the greater frequency with which the counties were called upon to choose 'discreet knights' to instruct the king, or to attend on behalf of their county in the national council. Thus in 1226 it is directed that four be chosen from each county to instruct the king; in 1254 two were to be chosen to attend the great council. Indeed it may be safely said that before this period ended, chosen knights of the shire had come to be looked upon as a needful part of every lawful parliament. The word 'parliament' was first used in 1246 as the name of the common council of the kingdom, and is at this time so often found in historical writings that it may be regarded as having taken the place of the old name of great council.

3. (2) Of the way in which money was given to the king in return for his granting liberties many instances

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might be given; but one will be enough. The last clause of the third re-issue of the Great Charter-which was made in 1225, and is noteworthy as giving the re-issue of Charter its final shape—states that in return for the king's grace in bestowing the liberties contained in the charter, his subjects have given him 'a fifteenth of their moveables.' Formerly land only had been taxed; but as wealth increased the king thought he might raise money from his people's 'goods' as well, and sent his servants every now and then throughout the land to ask the towns, freeholders, knights, and even the clergy for a share of their goods. If it were granted him it was assessed and levied by the king's officers, and paid

4 (3) The dealings of the king with his nobles must be told at greater length. William Marshall died in 1219. The management of affairs then passed to Hubert de Burgh, a wise, just, and vigorous ruler. In spite of many difficulties and much opposition, Hubert beat 1219-1232. down the wild spirits that the strife of 1215-17 had given birth to. He drove out of the kingdom the remnant of the armed hirelings whom John had brought over, and did much to bring back the authority of the law. He was not popular, however; and in 1232 he lost the favour of the king, who was now grown to manhood, and so fell from power.

By this time Henry's character had shown itself; and he proved to be, if not one of the worst, yet certainly one of the most useless of our kings. He had many good qualities,-was kind-hearted, generous, and pious; but he was also thriftless, unsteady, without judgment, and-perhaps from weakness of purpose-too often

5. Accordingly, when Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, took Hubert's place as the king's chief 1232-39.

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adviser, he did not succeed in keeping it for more than a few years. And soon after this we find Henry undertaking to carry on the work of government without any settled adviser whatever. Peter des twenty-four years (1234-1258) the post of chief justiciar-from the time of the Conquest the highest under the Crown-and for seventeen years (1244-1261) that of chancellor, were left unfilled. But, like all men of feeble character, Henry loved favourites; and during these years he seems to have been like clay in the hands of foreign adventurers, who flocked to England from many parts of the Continent, from Poitou, Provence, and

6. Indeed, the willingness of Henry to let foreigners do what they chose in England was his great wrong-doing. It was an outrage upon the feelings and interests of the native English nobility which they could not forgive. It made them take

the rule of the country out of the king's hands for a time, and at last drove them to make war upon him. Henry was a good son, and was willing to provide for his foreign half-brother. For after John's death, his wife Isabella wedded the Count of La Marche from whom John had once carried her off, and bore him many children. Four of her sons came over to England and received lands and honours that ought in justice to have gone to Englishmen. Henry was also a good husband; and when (1236) he married Eleanor of Provence, his wife's needy kinsmen had to be provided for in England. One of her uncles, Boniface of Savoy, became Archbishop of Canterbury, an office for which his extreme youth and violent temper made him quite unfit; another, Peter of Savoy, got large estates-among others, that part of modern London which is still called the Savoy; and a third, William Valence, became so powerful with the

king that only his unexpected death in 1239 is believed to have saved the nation from an earlier outbreak of the Barons' War. The success of these foreigners drew over others, who also prospered. The evil went on growing until the leading men of the nation could bear it no longer and set about devising means of checking it.

7. Another mischief of a similar kind worked to the same end, and is important as having helped to set the English Church on the side of the national Papal exacparty. The Pope claimed the right not only tions and usurpations. of levying money from the English clergy under the name of tallages, but also of providing for his Italian servants by presenting them to benefices and preferments in England. This latter usurped right he used with so little moderation that at one time Italian clergymen drew every year from the revenues of the English Church 50,000 marks, worth more than half a million of pounds now.

8. Added to all this, the king was very often asking for money, so that every class of the people felt much of their wealth slipping away from them. Henry Henry's spent a great deal of money on his own wants and pleasures. He was also for a long time at war with France, and once or twice tried to win back the dominions of his forefathers that John had lost. He always failed disgracefully in these attempts, after spending a great deal of money. At last in an evil hour for himself he was tempted by the Pope to go blindly into a scheme for making his second son, Edmund, king of Sicily, and soon found himself pledged to pay large sums to the Pope for this purpose. He twice asked the great council for an aid, but both times it was refused. Then the angry barons, believing that the king's misrule could not be met by ordinary ways, began a movement which led in the course of a few years to the great Barons' War and to the

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meeting of the first national assembly that had in it all the elements of a full parliament. It is this which makes the rising of the barons so important.

o. The soul of the movement was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. The great earl, known in later times among the common people as Sir Simon the Righteous, was himself the child of foreign parents. He was, however, the grandson of an Englishwoman, Amicia, daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester. Thus, the great champion of England against foreigners was himself but one-fourth an Englishman. It is remarkable, too, that he belonged originally to the very class which he afterwards made it the fixed purpose of his life to withstand. Born early in the century, and being a younger son, he came to England in 1232. There he found favour with the king, and found still greater favour with the king's sister, Eleanor, the widowed Countess of Pembroke, whom, to the great disgust of the native nobility, he succeeded in making his wife. Then Henry began, seemingly without cause, to dislike and fear him; but he steadily rose in the good opinion of the nation. By his conduct in various parts of the world-England, Gascony, the Holy Land-he showed that he had all the qualities of a great leader; and in 1258 he was felt to be the one man best fitted to stand at the head of the party of the barons.

net at London in April, 1258. It was a stormy meeting, and lasted for an unusually long time, almost a month; but the upshot was that the king agreed to give to twenty-four barons full powers to reform the course of government. Of these barons half were to be chosen by himself, half by the Barons, in a second of Oxford, parliament, which was fixed to meet at Oxford.

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twenty-four were chosen. From these four others were sifted; and these four in turn named a council of fifteen, who were to advise the king in all things. Two other committees were made, one of them, twelve in number, to represent the commonalty in three annual parliaments. These and some other regulations then made are known as the Provisions of Oxford. The king swore to observe them; and all the king's friends-his elder son, Edward, among them-took the same oath. The council of fifteen, led by its greatest member, Earl Simon, now drew to themselves all the king's powers. They called upon the foreigners to give up the king's castles; and Earl Simon loyally surrendered Kenilworth and Odiham. Valences—the king's half-brothers—resisted the demand, they were driven from the kingdom.

11. For a time this council ruled England. But they were slow in making the promised reforms; and when, towards the end of 1259, they yielded to the baronial pressure put upon them by Edward and the council. other barons, and published a paper of Reforms, called the Provisions of the Barons, these did not give satisfaction. Henry longed to break loose from their control, but was for a time kept in check by the refusal of his son Edward to join him in throwing off the yoke of the council. This body, therefore, though weakened by a quarrel that sprang up between Earl Simon and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, still held supreme sway. But in 1261 the king was released from his oath by the Pope, and wrested the authority from the barons, whereupon De Montfort withdrew to France.

12. A time of confusion followed, lasting for two years, during which many fruitless efforts were Civil war breaks out, made to settle the dispute. This came to a head in 1263. Richard de Clare was now dead; his son Gilbert warmly supported Leicester; and

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civil war broke out in the west and south. There were marchings of armies, sieges, and takings of towns and castles, but no pitched battle. Then an agreement was made to refer the whole quarrel to King Lewis of France, son of the Lewis who had come to England in 1216, and who was known in later times by the name of St. Lewis, because he was a very holy man. Both sides solemnly undertook to abide by his decision, whatever it might be. Lewis came to Amiens, and after hearing the case of each, gave judgment in January, 1264.

13. His judgment, which was known as the Award of Amiens, was altogether in favour of the king. By it, the provisions of Oxford were annulled, Henry was allowed to keep as many foreigners as he liked in his service; but at the same time the Great Charter was declared to be binding on the crown.

14. The barons easily found reasons for refusing to abide by the Award; and war broke out a second time. While Henry was making head in the midland counties, Earl Simon was besieging Rochester. War breaks out again, This was a valuable post; and Henry marched to relieve it. Learning, however, whilst on his way, that the earl had left Rochester, he went on southwards to attack the southern ports, which were on the baronial side. De Montfort followed, and came up with him at vewes. There, in May, 1264, he gained the great victory which made possible the meeting of what is generally called the first May, 1264. English parliament. The loss of the battle is usually said to have been owing to the blindness of Prince Edward's wrath. He was furious with the men of London for the way in which they had insulted his mother some time before. Having broken their division in the first onset, he chased them for miles in his rage, and when he came back found that the battle was lost. The king and his

brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall - who had been chosen king of Germany in 1257—were made prisoners; and Edward, in accordance with a treaty that followed, called the Mise of Lewes, gave himself as a ransom for

15. Thus de Montfort once more became king of England in all but name. He kept Henry in his power, and was therefore able to carry out such measures Earl Simon as he pleased, without seeming to set the king England. aside or make any change in the old way of governing. A parliament met in June, and put the government in the hands of the king and a council of nine. The year 1264 was a very eventful one; but its most fruitful event was its latest. In December writs were sent in the king's name to certain churchmen, earls, and barons; to the shires, cities, and boroughs throughout England, commanding the former three to come in person, the latter three to send representatives, to a parliament that was to be held at London in the following January. This meeting took place at the appointed time in due course. Thus came together the first lish parlia-ment, Janucommon council of the kingdom that contained everything which a full English parliament ought to contain. It may not have been fairly summoned: only 23 members of the lay nobility received writs, whilst 117 members of the higher clergy were called to it. It may have been force that brought it into being, as the king was not master of his actions at the time. may have been nothing new, and perhaps only used what had been already common on a smaller scale. But there is no doubt that it was the first meeting together of the lords spiritual and temporal, knights of the shire, and citizens and burgesses, for the general purposes of the whole nation. The lower clergy certainly had no voice in it; but the lower clergy, though in name still a part of

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parliament, in practice have never, except for a short time, been represented in it as a separate estate.

16. The parliament of 1265 sat a good while, and did a good deal to strengthen still further the power of Leicester. But shortly after it broke up, his power began to decay. The Earl of Gloucester took offence at the conduct of his chief, and, like his father, went over to the enemy. Edward, too, escaped from his keepers; and the royalists, thus encouraged, rose in arms. The earl, though a practised warrior, proved no out a third match in the field for his young and active foe-once his pupil and friend. In August he crossed the Severn from Wales, to join his troops to those of his son Simon, who had brought a force from the south-east to meet him. Halting for a night at Evesham, he was just getting ready to start the next morning when Edward Edward had surprised and scattered the younger Simon's army at Kenilworth two days before; and now he came down suddenly to destroy the elder Simon's in overwhelming force. He gained Battle of his object; de Montfort's army was overthrown; de Montfort himself and his son

Henry were slain (August 4, 1265).

17. The day of Evesham did not end the war. The remnant of the baronial party, made desperate by the refusal of the victors to grant them terms, still held out in Kenilworth Castle and elsewhere. Edward fought on with his usual earnestness, and stormed Winchelsea with a cruelty not usual with him:

and stormed Winchelsea with a cruelty not usual with him; but war still lingered. The royal party began to be less stern; and towards the end of 1266 they issued the 'dictum de Kenilworth,' in which terms of restoration to their honours and lands—hard, indeed, but still not unreasonable—were granted to those of the rebels who would 'lay down their arms. The de Montfort family

alone was treated with great severity; every member of it was to leave the kingdom. Kenilworth surrendered: but some little time passed before the terms were finally Barons' war accepted by all. At last, in July 1267, Ely, ends, 1267. where the most obstinate held out, was yielded to the king; and the Barons' war ended, seemingly in the utter defeat of the principles for which the great Earl of Leicester had laid down his life.

CHAPTER IV.

EDWARD I. AND PARLIAMENT.

1. But de Montfort's cause did not die with him. Parliament, indeed, had fallen to pieces once more; but before the century was over its parts were to be again gathered together into a firm and of parliament, 1267. lasting shape by the very hand that crushed de Montfort. In a sew years (November, 1272)King Henry died; and Edward, then absent on a crusade, was raised to his place. Shortly after the new king's return to England (August, 1274), the forces that had before 1265 been steadily making parliament a necessity of the Constitution set to work again, and never paused until, in 1295, Edward found it advisable to call an assembly which represented all classes of the nation even more thoroughly than that of 1265 had done. Edward loved power well and to have his own way; yet he loved his people too, and doubtless he would have helped on the growth of parliament, even if it had not served his own ends. But what did most to bring about the great result was the discovery which he made, that the consent of the various classes of his subjects could be gained to taxation more readily through an assembly in which those classes

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should be present either in person or by the men whom they chose to act for them, than by any other way.

2. After the growing wealth of the country had begun to tempt the king to raise money for his uses from 'moveables,' it became customary for the king's officers, whenever the king was in need of money, to visit the counties and towns, and ask them to make him a grant. Even, then, however, he dealt with the people through their representatives. The county court was dealt with as having power to bind the county, the magistrates of a town as having power to bind their town, and the archdeacons as having power to bind the lower clergy. The knights of the shire had come to be looked upon as a part of the national council or parliament; and a grant of money made by this body was supposed to be made by all classes in the realm except the boroughs and lower clergy. These latter classes had still to be treated with separately-a course which caused much delay and other inconvenience; and a feeling grew up that it would be much easier to get all that was wanted from one assembly. For instance, in 1282, King Edward I., while in Wales warring with Llewellyn, first gained through an agent from the counties and boroughs a supply which turned out much smaller than was needed. wanted more he called together, by writs addressed to the archbishops and sheriffs, two meetings of clerical and two of lay representatives; those of the southern province at Northampton, those of the northern at York. The laymen of both assemblies readily voted him a thirtieth of their 'moveables.'

3. Still, these bodies were not even provincial parliaments; they lacked the higher clergy and lay nobility to make them such. Next year (1283) Edward brought togetherat Acton Burnelanother body, called in history a parliament; but, though representatives of the shires and of twenty-one towns sat in

it, this assembly has no right to the name of parliament; for not only were the clergy of every rank absent from it, but also the royal summons was sent direct to the towns, and not through the sheriff, which would have been the constitutional method. Other central assemblies followed; but to each was wanting something that a lawful parliament could not be without.

4. At last, in 1295, King Edward took the final step. He had in that year a French war and a Welsh rebellion on his hands; and had, moreover, grave cause Edward's first full to be uneasy about Scotland. To win the hearty goodwill of his own subjects was an important point; and accordingly, towards the end or 1295, he gathered at Westminster an assembly that was in every sense a national parliament. The writs calling it together were issued in the way that the Constitution directed. The three estates were present; even the lower clergy were represented. On its coming together it straightway fulfilled the sole duty of a parliament in those days-voted the king a supply. Edward seems to have been fully aware of the importance of the step he was taking. In the writ addressed to the archbishop he uses language which shows his sense that parliament was to become a necessary part of the State in England. 'It is a most just law,' he says, 'that what concerns all should be approved of by all, and that common dangers should be met by measures provided in common.' The lower clergy ceased to sit in parliament after a time; but, with this exception, since 1295 every national council worthy to be called a parliament has been made up of the same parts as that of 1295.

5. Two years later (1297) the one thing still wanting to give the finishing touch to the building-up of parliament—a solemn acknowledgment by the king that it alone had power to tax the nation—was gained. The great Scottish

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war had broken out; and Edward, in his extreme need of money, acted rather tyrannically. He demanded a large grant from the clergy, and when they would not give it, withdrew from them the protection of the law. He seized the wool in charters. the hands of the merchants—though only as a loan—and did many other things which set at naught the rights of the people. The barons resisted; the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford refused either to lead an army to Gascony -which, as marshal and constable, Edward thought they were bound to do-or to go with the king to Flanders. When Edward went to Flanders they took advantage of his absence to force on the Government at home, and finally on Edward also, a confirmation of the charters (the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest). But there were added seven new clauses, in which the king promised, among other things, to take from his people no 'aids, tasks, or prises, but by the common assent of the realm . . . saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed.' This was a full grant to parliament of what has been called the power of the purse, which for many years simply meant that without a vote of parliament the crown had no lawful means of adding to its fixed income raised from feudal and other sources.

BOOK II.

WALES AND SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

WALES.

1. FOREMOST among the events that hastened the growth of parliament are the conquest of Wales (1277-1283), and the attempt to conquer Scotland (1296-1328). The king's income was too small to enable him to do more

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than meet the outlay which his duties as a king made necessary. When he wanted to carry on war, he had to ask his people to give him more money. The need of an easy way of getting at the different classes of the people, or the *Estates of the Realm*, as they were called, made the use of the parliament to be more felt than it would have been in peaceful times.

2. The Wales that was conquered by Edward I. was only part of the country formerly and now so called. Origin of From the time of the Norman Conquest it Welsh war. had been steadily lessening before the almost constant war which the English barons, settled on its borders, waged with its princes. They had pressed especially into the southern parts and laid hold of them. In 1277 Wales had shrunk into little more than half its former size; and even the ruler of this region had been for a long time a vassal of the English king, bound to do him homage when it was asked from him.

3. Now, when Edward became king, he summoned Llewellyn, then the Prince of Wales, to come up to his coronation and do him homage. Llewellyn refused. He was again and again summoned, but in vain. He either made groundless excuses, or would come only on conditions which could not be granted. Edward had, moreover, an old grudge against him, because he had helped the baronial party in the wars of Earl Simon. Llewellyn did his best to bring the quarrel to a head. He more than once broke across the borders of his principality, and plundered the lands of his English neighbours. Edward bore this for some time; but in 1276 he could bear it no longer. He called together his great lords, and told them all that Llewellyn had done. These lords were Llewellyn's peers or equals, for they and Llewellyn alike held their lands from King Edward; and by law they alone had power to pass judgment on a

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brother peer who was charged with having sinned against the king. They gave Edward authority 'to go upon Llewellyn'; and the war with Wales began.

4. A single campaign was enough. In the summer of 1277 Wales was assailed at the same time from the south, east, and north. The king in person led an army from Chester to Anglesey. The Welsh prince was forced to his knees without a battle. Edward was a generous foe; he was content with getting from Llewellyn a promise to do homage to him at Rhuddlan and at London, to pay a fine of 50,000l., and a yearly rent of 1,000 marks (a mark was the two-thirds of a These sums were about equal in value to 1,000,000l. and 13,000l. of our money. He took back also into his own kingdom some lands east of the Conway which had been lost in an earlier war. The first and last of these conditions he meant to be kept; the fine and the yearly rent for Anglesey he afterwards gave up. Llewellyn came to London, did homage, and was allowed to marry Eleanor de Montfort, Earl Simon's daughter. She had some time before fallen into English hands when on her way to Llewellyn, to whom she had been betrothed. The Welsh difficulty seemed thus to be fairly ended.

5. It was not so, however. In 1282, Llewellyn's brother, David, who had taken the English side in 1277, and who thought that the broad lands which had been given him in England were a poor reward for in Wales, his services, burst with a body of followers into Hawarden Castle on Palm Sunday. There he seized Roger Clifford, one of the king's justices, and killed the knights and esquires that were with him. Then the united forces of David and Llewellyn passed across the marches, wasted the lands, burnt the homesteads, and slew the inhabitants, men and women, young and old

alike. Edward was taken by surprise, but at once went to Shrewsbury, with his mind made up to end his Welsh troubles by entirely doing away with Wales as a separate state. Again Wales was attacked from different points at the same time. One army pierced it from the southeast, whilst the king in person followed his old line of march along the northern coast, and again entered Anglesey. But Llewellyn still held out. The English primate tried in vain to persuade him to throw himself on the king's mercy. A check which the English received in making their way across the Menai Straits from Anglesey gave him fresh courage. In reality this small success only led him to his ruin. He was emboldened by it to go southwards and face the army which Mortimer and Gifford were leading along the line of the Wye. Near Builth he was caught unawares Liewellyn killed, and Welsh war at a distance from his own men, and cut down, in a desperate effort to get back, by an Engends, 1282. lish knight called Frankton. His fall ended the war. When the summer of 1283 came, the last Welsh castle had surrendered, and David was a prisoner. Later in the year a parliament, called together to deal with David's case, met at Shrewsbury. In its presence the Welshman was found guilty of murder, treason, and sacrilege. For these crimes he was doomed to be drawn to the gallows, hanged, disembowelled, David of Wales exeand quartered-penalties that were until very cuted, 1283. lately the legal punishment of treason. He was executed accordingly.

6. Edward took great pains to settle the future government of Wales wisely and justly. He passed a whole year in the country that he might do so. His aim was to rule Wales in the same way in which he ruled England, without actually joining it to his kingdom. He gave his eldest son, Edward—called

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t unawares d cut down, of Caernarvon,' as having been born there in 1284—the title of Prince of Wales. He cut up the principality into shires after the English fashion. He set up English law so far as he thought it would suit a folk like the Welsh. But Wales was still kept apart from England. Except on two occasions (1322 and 1327) it had no voice in the national parliament until Henry VIII., himself of Welsh descent, gave it, in 1536, the right of sending up members to the English House of Commons. Edward's way of dealing with Wales was on the whole successful. Of course the Welsh people were not content; but they made only two serious risings against English rule—one in 1295 and one under Owen Glendower in Henry IV.'s reign. This proves how solid and thorough Edward's workmanship was.

CHAPTER II

SCOTLAND.

1. TWELVE years later Edward was led, partly by the course of things, partly of his own will, to take in hand the conquest of Scotland. This he did because Attempt to he wished to join together all the parts of Britain into a single state. It turned out to be 1296-1328. a much harder task to conquer Scotland than to conquer Wales. He worked at it earnestly for the last eleven years of his life (1296-1307); but when he died it was still unfinished. And chiefly because of the feebleness of those who came after him it never was finished. In 1328 Scotland got the ruling power in England to grant that it was entirely independent. Afterwards it was only by the weaker nation giving the stronger a king that at last, in 1603, the two kingdoms passed into the hands of the same ruler.

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2. The race that took the chief part in fighting against Edward were of the same origin as the English themselves. It was Lothian-as the country that ward's Scotlies between the Tweed and the Forth was tish foes called-and the lowlands of Aberdeenshire were. that sent forth the most stubborn foes to Edward. This Lothian had once been a part of England; for the name 'Scotland' up to the tenth century meant only Ireland; as late as the Conqueror's time it meant only that part of modern Scotland which stretches from the Forth to the Spey. But in Edward I.'s time Scotland took in Lothian as well. So men came to call themselves Scots who were really as much of English blood as the men of Kent. Their speech was English; their form of government was like that of the English. They had even gone through a kind of Norman Conquest; for in the twelfth century Norman chiefs had gone to Scotland to see what they could win for themselves. They had won lands and titles there, and had got on so well that in a hundred years most of the chief Scottish nobles were Norman by birth and habits. But the common folk of the lowlands, even of those north of the Forth, were mostly Teutonic. These men had become proud of their independence, and now fought for it. They now held themselves aloof from both the highlanders of the north and north-west and the men of Galloway on the west-many of whom even took the English side in the quarrel-; and after keeping up a seemingly hopeless struggle for years, they won in the end.

3. Nor were the English and Scots as yet much divided in feeling from each other. They were far from being such deadly foes as they afterwards became. Indeed things had rather gone to bring them together than to keep them asunder. Most of the rulers of Scotland for 200 years had been English barons as well as Scottish

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kings. Many of their nobles had as great an interest in the English as in the Scottish kingdom, since they owned broad lands in both. The names of Bruce and Baliol are often found in the roll of fighters on one side or the other in the wars of the English barons with their king. For 100 years, too, there was unbroken peace between the kindred peoples, for it was King Alexander's alliance with his brother barons of England that drew upon Scotland the furious foray of 1216.

4. Some say that a Scottish king of those days was something more than an English baron, that he was a vassal of the English crown for his Scottish kingdom. We cannot clearly show that this was so or was not so. It is true that Scottish Scotland. kings often did homage and service to the English king

kings often did homage and service to the English king before as well as after the Norman Conquest. But it is also certain that most, if not all, of these held lands in England; and it is therefore possible that their homage and service were for their English lands only. Yet many cases of this kind are found—from Malcolm, who 'bowed to' Canute in 1031, to Alexander III., who became the liege man of Edward I. 'against all nations.' There is, too, much doubt about one or two of these kingly vassals being English barons; so that it is most likely that some loose feudal tie did bind the northern to the southern king. In any case Edward I. certainly believed himself to have good grounds for claiming some sort of supremacy over Scotland, when he was called upon to judge who had the best right to its throne.

5. Scotland was enjoying the blessings of a long peace, and was steadily growing in wealth and prosperity, when its king, Alexander III., the last male descendant of William the Lion, fell over the cliffs at Kinghorn, and was killed (1286). All his children had died before him, and the next in succession

was the only child of his daughter Margaret and her husband, Eric, king of Norway. The title of this girl, who was also called Margaret, was at once admitted by the Scots. Steps were taken to bring her to her kingdom; and guardians of the Scottish realm were named to rule in the meantime.

6. This state of things lasted until 1290. King Edward does not appear to have thought of interfering-indeed from 1286 to 1289 he was absent from his own kingdom on Gascon and other affairs. But in 1289 he began to take a lively interest in a matter that touched him so nearly. In this year Eric of Norway and the guardians of Scotland applied to him for counsel and help; and he managed to settle things in a way which pleased all parties. In the summer of 1290 the estates Treaty of of Scotland met at Brigham near the Border, Brigham, 1200. and joyfully agreed to the marriage of Margaret of Norway with Edward of Caernarvon, on condition that Scotland should always remain a separate kingdom, with its 'rights, laws, and liberties' unchanged. But a few months later, the death of the child, Margaret dies, 1290. Margaret, at Orkney-where she had landed while on her way to her kingdom-threw the affairs of Scotland once more into confusion.

7. Many claimants of the Scottish throne now came forward; and it would seem that Edward was asked to judge which had the best right. In 1291 he went to Norham, met the Scottish nobles and commonalty on the Border, and demanded, as the first thing, that he should be recognized by all to be the feudal lord of Scotland. After some delay the nobles yielded to this demand; the Commonalty seem to have made some objection, but no notice was taken of it. At last the supremacy of the English crown over the Scottish was placed beyond a doubt. Edward then took

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in hand the great cause, and he certainly spared no pains to make his judgment a fair and lawful one. He passed a whole year in gathering light on the subject from every quarter and in every way he could think of. There were thirteen claimants in all; but of these only three had anything like a reasonable case. These were

Scotland.

John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings,

Hastings.

who were respectively the grandson, son, and grandson of the first, second, and third daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, younger brother of William the Lion, whose last descendant had just perished in the girl, Margaret of Norway.1 According to later notions, the right clearly belonged to John Baliol; but there was still some doubt whether the rule of succession to the Scottish throne was the same as that to feudal lands. It was even thought possible that the kingdom of Scotland was a possession that ought to be shared equally among the three claimants; and this was the case made by Hastings. But in 1292 King Edward, after having patiently heard and carefully weighed the arguments of all, gave judgment in favour of John Baliol. Thereupon Baliol did homage to his sovereign at Berwick, and then following Edward into England, again did homage and swore fealty to him at Newcastle.

8. But this was only the beginning of troubles. Though

1 Table showing the chief claimants to the Scottish Crown, David I., d. 1153.

Henry, d. 1152. William the Lion. David, Earl of Huntingdon. Alexander II. Margaret. Imbel. Ada Alexander III. Dervoirgal. Robert Bruce. Henry Hastings. Margaret. John Baliol. John Hastings Margaret of Norway

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Edward had in the plainest words renounced all claim to the most valuable rights of a feudal sovereign, he was still willing to listen to appeals from Baliol king the Scottish courts of justice; and cases of Scotland. 1292-96. of the kind soon came before him. For instance, in 1293, one Macduff, a younger son of the Earl of Fife, having been worsted in a suit that he made for certain lands before the Scottish estates, carried his case before Edward, as lord superior of Scotland Baliol was summoned to Westminster to answer a charge of having denied justice to one of his subjects. He disobeyed at first; but on a second summons being sent him, he appeared before the English court, and told it that he dared not so far humble himself as to answer in a foreign court without taking the advice of his estates. Judgment was then given against him, but was not put in force for a time.

9. Now the Scots were a high-spirited race, and felt keenly the way in which their king was treated. Accordingly, when Edward, in 1295, was forced into a war with France to recover Guienne, which King Philip had got from him by a trick, the Scots gladly seized the opportunity. A secret alliance was made between Alliance between Scot-Scotland and France, in which the two land and powers engaged to give hearty support to France. 1295. each other against England. Few alliances in history have lasted so long as this. It was renewed from time to time for almost three hundred years, and was only broken up by the Reformation of the sixteenth After the treaty was made, the Scots were foolish enough to cross the border and ravage Northumberland. Upon this the war of Scottish Independence

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CHAPTER III.

FIRST AND SECOND CONQUESTS OF SCOTLAND.

1. THE War of Scottish Independence lasted for thirtytwo years-from 1296 till 1328. Early in 1296 King Edward led a powerful force northwards, en-War of tered Scotland and stormed Berwick, putting most of the townspeople to the sword. By dependence, 1296-1328. nature Edward was a merciful king; and it would not be easy to account for his ruthless spirit on this occasion. Halting for a time to see the effect of the blow on Baliol, but receiving only a formal defiance, he led Battle of or sent his men against Dunbar. Whilst be-Dunbar. sieging this place the English are said to have been attacked by a host of Scots and to have won a great

victory. Dunbar was taken.

Edward's next stage was Edinburgh, where the castle gave him some trouble, but yielded after a siege of a week. Still pushing northwards, he never paused until he reached Elgin. Every stronghold fell before him; the garrison even of Stirling had not the heart to defend their charge, but ran away when Edward approached. At Brechin or Montrose King John delivered himself up, and was sent into England. Wherever Edward went he made all the great landowners do him homage, and took care to keep a formal record of each case. Before summer was past, the conquest of Scotland First Conwas to all outward appearance complete. Then having made Earl Warenne guardian of Scot- 1296. land, Cressingham treasurer, and Ormsby justiciar, and having put the places of strength into English hands, he went back to England.

2. Yet next year Scotland was in arms. In the first E. H.

months of 1297, William Wallace, the son of a knight who had a small estate called Ellerslie, in Renfrewshire, stung into action by his own or his William country's wrongs, got together an armed band Wallace, 1097-08. and began that career which has given him an undying name in history. After one or two notable deeds of daring, he made a dash on Scone, chased Ormsby from the town, and seized the treasure that lay there. He was then joined by Sir William Douglas, an outlaw like himself; and the movement soon swelled into a national rising. Warenne happened to be in England at this time; but by King Edward's orders he went at once with all the force lie could muster to crush the rebellion. He had got as far as Stirling Brid, e, and his men were slowly marching across, when Wallace, who had posted his followers at Cambuskenneth, Battle of made a rush towards the head of the bridge, neth, 1297. seized it, and cut to pieces those who had crossed. Cressingham was killed; and the panicstricken English who were still on the safe side of the stream fled in disorder. The strongholds lost so easily the year before were re-taken; and Wallace carried the war into the northern counties of England. Here his men killed, burned, and wasted without mercy. Returning to Scotland he took, or was given, the title of Guardian, and during the winter was all the king the country had. In 1298, however, his career ended. For Edward then came himself with a mighty host, and though baffled for a time by his enemy, who made the country a desert before him, and cautiously avoided a battle, he got him within his grasp at Falkirk. The patriot Battle of army fought nobly, but was almost destroyed. Falkirk, Among the few who escaped from the field was Wallace; but we hear no more of him for some years. His work for Scotland was done.

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3. Falkirk was a barren victory. Famine drove Edward back to England; and for five years no further serious effort was made to conquer Scotland. There Scotland left was certainly some fighting in Galloway, where itself, zzoß-Caerlaverock Castle was besieged and taken in 1300. It would seem, too, that the English were still masters of the country south of the Forth. But in 1303 Edward again invaded Scotland. His troops had in February met with a slight reverse near Roslin; but he pushed boldly on nevertheless. Marching very swiftly, he passed through Edinburgh, crossed the Forth above Stirling, and found no enemy until he came to Brechin, which made a gallant defence until its commander was killed. Stirling Castle alone held out, but was left untouched as yet. Next year the Scottish nobles made a formal surrender of the country to Edward at Strathorde; and the siege of Stirling was undertaken. Siege of Stirling, Stirling was no easy place to take; its governor, Oliphant, and the few valiant men 1304. who served with him, withstood the whole might of Edward for ninety days. Hunger at last forced Second them to yield; they were sent to England, conquest of Scotland, and a second time Edward had Scotland in his power.

4. He dealt very gently with it. Taking as his advisers three Scotsmen—one of whom was Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, soon to be famous—he brought together a mixed body of Scots and English, and with their help drew up a plan for ruling his conquest that is marked by kindliness as well as wisdom. His hope was that the two peoples would in time become one; and his scheme of government was designed to hasten this happy issue. But for one man there was now no mercy, whatever there might have been a year earlier. In 1304 Wallace had declined to place

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Clasgow in 1305, he was sent up to London, and after a beath of Wallace, with all the dreadful tortures that the law of England now made the punishment of treason (August 1305). But as yet Wallace was the only Scotsman who died on the scaffold by Edward's orders. Though many of the nobles and clergy had sworn fealty again and again, and broken their oaths as often, not one paid the penalty of his crime.

CHAPTER IV.

ROBERT BRUCE.

I. AGAIN there was peace in Scotland; but it was short-lived. In 1306 Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant of

Robert Bruce and having slain the Red Comyn, Baliol's sister's son, at Dumfries, got himself crowned

patriotism, seems to have been his ruling motive in taking this step; but the heroism he afterwards showed throughout his wonderful career goes far to atone for his crime—if crime there were—at the outset. But at first Bruce's attempt was but a bold stroke for a crown. No general rising took place, as in 1297. For years King Robert was a mere adventurer, with little other support than that of his personal followers and friends. Indeed, until 1310 his enterprise wore a very hopeless look.

2. In June, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, grandson of John's queen by her second husband, and now governor of Scotland, suddenly burst upon Bruce at Methven, near Perth, routed his little band, and drove him, a homeless vagabond,

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to seek shelter in the West. On his way thither he was assailed by the highlanders under John of Lorn, and saved himself only by marvellous courage and skill. Then disaster followed disaster; for by this time Edward had again approached the Border; and though the hand of death was slowly closing upon him, still from his couch at Lanercost he eagerly watched and, so far as he could, guided the course of events in Scotland. A great change had come over him. He now breathed nothing but vengeance. Nearly every male prisoner of rank who fell into his hands was sent to the scaffold. Three of Bruce's brothers, and many other of his stoutest partisans thus perished. The Countess of Buchan, who had placed the crown on Bruce's head, was shut up in a cage in Berwick Castle: but his wife and daughter were honourably treated in England.

3. All this time Bruce was roving about in the Western isles, or landing on the mainland only to be beaten and chased back into his hiding-places by an English force. Once he was cheered by a slight success. In May 1307, he withstood and drove back Pembroke at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire. Yet in a few days he was again a fugitive; but in the following July King Edward died at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle, and Bruce's enterprise became possible. For Edward's son and successor, Edward II., was a man of very different mettle from his father's, and

Bruce's chances became more encouraging.

4. Yet for the first three years after his sleepless foe's death he made but slow progress. Though he managed to keep the field, he gained no stronghold. Every fortress in Scotland was still in English hands. But in 1310 Edward II. made a grand invasion, which failed because, owing to King Robert's resolute policy, the invaders could neither find an enemy nor live in the country.

Bruce then took courage, attempted town after town to such good purpose that in 1314 he was master of every place of strength in his kingdom save Stirling and Berwick; and in the June of this year his men were pressing Stirling so hard that its governor engaged to deliver it up if by the following St. John's Day (June 24) he were not relieved.

5. This roused the spiritless Edward to a great effort; and on the eve of St. John's Day a huge host of English, led by their king in person, came in sight of Rattle of Bannock-Stirling. Hitherto King Robert had been burn, 1314. very careful not to fight; but he made up his mind to risk a battle now rather than lose his chance of getting Stirling; and the great battle of Bannockburn was the result. Bruce chose his ground with sound The English archers were scattered by a charge of Scottish horse; and the mounted men-at-arms. huddled together in a narrow space, through which alone the Scots could be reached, were easily discomfited by the Scottish spearmen. Edward and his men fled in wild disorder to Berwick; and Stirling surrendered the same evening.

6. Scottish independence was now as good as won. At this time the English power was greatly weakened by the quarrels of Edward II. and his barons; and Bruce was able in 1318 to retake Berwick, and in 1322 to lead his victorious Scots almost to the gates of York. He more
Truce of over forced Edward to make two truces, of which the latter, made in 1323, was for thirteen years, and whilst it refused to give, allowed Robert to take the royal title. In 1327, when the worthless Edward was dethroned, and his young son, Edward III., was made king in his stead, King Robert broke the truce, and sent an army into England, which defied all the efforts of the boy king's counsellors to bring it to a

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Peace of Northampton, 1328.

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Bruce dies, 1329.

This inroad was the last event of the war. In the following year Robert died, leaving the crown to his son David, a lad but five years old.

BOOK III. THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE.

1. FOR the greater part of the two centuries and a half after John lost Normandy (1204-1453) the kings of England and of France were at war with each other. This was chiefly owing to the fact that the English king still held a large portion of southern France. The The kings of England region called by English writers Guienne, keep Guienne. which stretched northwards from the Pyrenees almost to the river Charente, still remained in their possession. Once indeed it seemed likely that they would have to part with this country also. In 1224 Lewis VIII., the same Lewis who was driven from England in 1217, after conquering lower Poitou, pushed his arms into Gascony also; but it was recovered shortly afterwards by William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury.

2. Henry III. made several attempts to get back the provinces which his father had lost; and it was not until 1259 that the long quarrel was set at rest by a treaty of peace. By this treaty, Lewis IX., of his own free will, gave

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back to Henry III. several of the conquests he had made. Henry agreed to do homage for these and for Gascony, and to give up all claim to 1259. the others which his father and himself had lost. Thus the kings of England were dukes of Guienne long after they had ceased to be dukes of Normandy and counts of Anjou.

3. This dignity added little to their real strength. The French kings, whose vassals they were, regarded them with great jealousy, and were ever on the watch for an excuse for taking their French lands from them. In 1294 Philip IV., called the Fair, actually did get them, but in a shamefully dishonest way. He summoned Edward I. to Pand to answer for the conduct of certain Gascons, subjects of his, who had given help to the English sailors in a strange kind of war that for a time raged between the English and the Norman seafaring folk. Edward did not appear, but sent his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, in his place. Philip said he was willing to push the matter no farther if Guienne was put into his hands for forty 1294. days, promising to restore it at the end of that time. Edmund accepted the offer; and Philip's officers were put in possession of the duchy. But Philip broke his word, and when the forty days had passed, still kept Guienne; and Edward was forced to go to war with him. This war was uneventful, but worthy of notice as having been the means of winning from Edward the Confirmation of the Charters. The upshot of it was that Edward go back Guienne in 1303.

4 Again, in 1324, Charles the Fair, Philip's son, fastened a quarrel of a like nature on Edward II., took Guienne into his hands, and only gave it back again when young Edward, Earl of Chester, afterwards Edward III., was sent over to do homage in his father's place. Alto-

gether Guienne was a fruitful source of trouble to its duke in England; but to the English it was in one way an advantage that their kings still kept a footing on French soil. No single cause did so much to strengthen the hands of the newly-created Parliament. So long as he had Guienne to defend, an English king could never be sure of peace; and when war, or threat of war, arose, he had to ask his Parliament for money.

5. But at no time did the Third Estate, as the Commons were called, gain so much power as in the Hundred Years' War. When that war began it was the weakest of the three estates; when the war ended it was the Strongest. And it is very likely that the Hundred Years' War would never have taken place if Guienne had not belonged to the king of England; for the way in which this war between the kings of France and England broke out was the following.

6. Early in 1327 Edward II. was deposed because he was unfit to rule, and his elder son, Edward, then only a Edward lad of fourteen, became king. Until his III. becomes king, eighteenth year he was under the guidance of his mother, Isabella of France, and Roger Mortimer, who had planned and carried out the overthrow of his father. These two had taken on themselves the rule of the nation, paying little respect to the council of bishops, earls, and barons chosen for the purpose. In 1328 the last of Philip the Fair's sons, Charles the Fair.

Philip IV. (the Fair)

Philip VI.

Charles of Valois.

Philip VI.

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Edward III. of England.

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died, leaving no son to succeed him; and Edward, as the grandson of Philip through Isabella, Philip's daughter, put in a claim for the empty throne. Of this claim no notice seems to have been taken; and Philip of Valois, the son of Philip the Fair's brother, was accepted as king. Next year Edward did homage to Philip of Valois for Guienne, thus seemingly allowing his future rival's title.

7. In 1330 young Edward shook off the control of his mother and Mortimer—sending Mortimer to the scaffold—and made himself king in fact, as he was already king in name. A few years afterwards fighting began between some of his lords in the north and the regency that held sway in Scotland during the minority of David Bruce; and in 1333 Edward was easily drawn into the war. He won the battle of Halidon Hill, Battle of Halidon Berwick, overran Scotland is in 1333.

retook Berwick, overran Scotland, joined Lothian to his own kingdom, and set up Edward Baliol, John Baliol's son, as vassal king of Scotland north of the Friths. The Scots fought against his designs with their usual dogged courage; and he had himself to lead armies more than once into their country. But in the main his work prospered, and there is little doubt that if he had not turned aside from his task Scotland would have been conquered at last. But at this point Philip of France stepped in, and, taking the part of David Bruce, so annoyed Edward that he revived his half-forgotten claim to the French throne, and began a war that proved one of the longest and saddest in history. Philip thought he might make such a use of Edward's war in the north as to win Guienne for himself. Accordingly Philip of he sheltered Bruce, who had been driven from Scotland, sent men and ships to aid Bruce's England. party, threatened to invade England, and sent troops against Guienne. Edward had to make his choice-

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either to go to war with France or to lose Guienne. He chose to go to war; and wishing to gain support for his cause, took the title and, a little later, the arms Edward III. claims of a French king. His claim, though skilfully the French put, was an utterly groundless one. It had come to be regarded as a law in France, that not only no woman, but also no man who traced his descent from the blood royal through a woman only, could wear the crown of the country. This was called the Salic law; and by it Edward, whose link of connexion with French royalty vas his mother Isabella, had plainly not a shadow of right. But Edward took another view of the Salic law; he said that it kept from the French throne women only. but not their sons if these were otherwise the nearest of blood. In this way he, as grandson of Philip IV. (the Fair) would have had a better title than Philip VI. (o. Valois), "ho was only a son of Philip the Fair's younger brother. In 1337, however, there was a boy, Charles of Navarre, who, by Edward's own way of putting the law, stood before him in nearness to the throne. But there is reason to think that Edward was only half in earnest in making and pushing on his claim. More than once during the war his conduct would seem to show that he used the title of king of France to enable him to drive a more gainful bargain with the enemy when peace should be made. It was an unlucky step, however, as it greatly embittered the quarrel, and made a lasting peace next to impossible.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST STAGE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

1. THE Hundred Years' War may be divided into three parts. The first stretches from 1337 to the Great Peace

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of 1360; the second from 1369, when the war broke out again, to the Great Truce of 1396; the third from the breaking of this truce in 1415 to the final loss of Bordeaux by Henry VI. in 1453.

But in no one of these parts did the fighting go on continuously from year to year. In each of them truces of greater or less length kept the foes apart now and then; and in one (the third) the great prize seemed to have been really won by a treaty made at Troyes between the rival kings, Henry V. and Charles VI., in 1420.

2. At first King Edward III. tried to assail Philip VI. from Flanders. He had made allies there among the wealthy self-governed cities, and had an es-Edward pecially trusty friend in James Van Artevelde - the brewer of Ghent,' as his enemies called 1339-40. him-and among the feudal princes and nobles jealous of France. He had won to his cause even the Emperor of the day, Lewis of Bavaria. He spent much treasure, and plunged himself into debt, in making war on this side. but gained nothing-only a little glory. Twice (in 1339 and 1340) he led huge armies southwards, both times met his rival, yet failed to draw him into a battle, and had to fall back baffled. He could not rely on his allies. His only success was the naval victory of Sluys-won in June 1340. over a French fleet that sought to bar his way as he was going to Flanders to start on one of Sluys, 1340. his marches towards France. It was a strange kind of seabattle. Both sides merely used their ships as platforms to fight from. After a desperate struggle, which lasted till nightian, the English men-at-arms and archers overpowered the French, who were almost all killed or drowned. The defeat was a crushing one, and is said to have further strengthened the lordship over the narrow seas which England even then claimed and kept until the present century. But when Edward came back to

England in November, he was sunk in debt, and as far from his object as ever.

3. After this the war shifted to Britanny, where a dispute about the succession to the duchy between John de Montfort, the half-brother of the late duke, Warin Britanny. and Charles of Blois, who had married the late 1342. duke's niece Iane, gave Edward a chance of winning friends on French soil. Charles was the nephew of King Philip, and his claim was therefore supported by France; whilst de Montfort sought help from Edward. offering to do homage to him as king of France in return. Edward accepted the offer, and sent aid, going himself over to Britanny in 1342 with 12,000 men. event of this stage of the war was the heroic defence of Hennebon by Jane of Flanders, wife of de Montfort, who had been taken prisoner. Iane kept the enemy at bay for some months, hoping against hope, and was at last relieved by an English force led by Sir Walter Manny, a knight of Hainault, who became very famous during this part of the war. The Breton quarrel was not finally settled until the next reign. The cause of de Montfort won in the end.

4. In 1346 was fought the great battle of Cressy-wonderful in many ways, but especially so as showing the height that English daring and force in war Campaign had already reached. In July King Edward of Cressy, ¥346. landed in Normandy with 30,000 men, and went along the left bank of the Seine towards Paris. His purpose is not very clear: perhaps he wished to cross the river and join his Flemish allies. But every bridge had been broken down, and he found no means of getting across until he came to Poissy, not far from Paris. After some delay he managed to reach the right bank at Poissy, and at once headed northwards. King Philip, who had been lying with a large army in the neighbourhood of 40-46. as far

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Paris, went in pursuit; and for a time it seemed as if his daring foes could not escape him. At the Somme their position was almost desperate; after much searching and dangerous delay. Edward had found a ford at Blanchetache, but a full tide kept his army motionless on the southern bank for many hours. Had Philip come up then, as he might easily have done, it is thought that the English would have been cut off to a man. But he loitered at Abbeville; the tide fell; the French force that lined the opposite bank was routed, and Edward crossed. But on reaching Cressy (Crécy), in Ponthieu, he halted his army, and waited for the oncoming of the French. On Saturday, August 26, the French army, said to have been 100,000 strong, came in sight; and late in the day

the battle began.

5. The English were drawn up in three divisions upon the slope of a hill crowned by a windmill, near which King Edward himself stood. His eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, a youth of sixteen, and still renowned as the Black Prince, led 1346. the first of these divisions; the Earls of Northampton and Arundel the second; the king himself held the third in reserve. The onset came from the French side, and was made first by the Genoese crossbowmen. But these were met and speedily thrown into confusion by the English archers, who were far superior to them in swiftness and in sureness of aim. The discomfiture of the Genoese made it difficult for the French men-at-arms, who were next in order, to come on; but at last these swept the bewildered crossbowmen from their path, and with the Count of Alencon, King Philip's brother, at their head, fell upon the Prince's division. This was the most awful shock of the fight. At one time young Edward and his men were in great peril, and an earnest prayer for succour was sent to the king. But Edward would have his child 'win his spurs' unaided, that the honour of the day might be his alone. In the end this onset was beaten back also. Alençon made one more effort to pierce to the English centre, but was killed. His men fled; the French army scattered in all directions; and the French king galloped off the field. When the fog that covered the ground until late in the following day (Sunday) cleared away, the most sickening scene of carnage was disclosed. On the French side alone more than 30,000 had fallen; the loss of the English is unknown.

on and laid siege to Calais. This town he was bent on having; and after a close blockade, lasting for eleven months, he took it in August 1347. He drove out all the inhabitants who would not swear allegiance to him, planted English in their place, gave to these valuable privileges, and girt the city round with such strong defences as to show that he wanted to make and keep it purely English. In time it came to be looked on as a part of the kingdom of England. Henry VIII. even granted it the right to send members to parliament.

7. Seven weeks after the fight of Cressy, and while Edward was lying before Calais, a great success fell to the Fight of English on their own soil. In the autumn, Neville's Cross, October 1346 David Bruce, who had now come back to Scotland, fell upon the North of England with a large force. He was working great mischief to the country, when Henry Percy and Ralph Neville encountered him at a place near Durham, known as Neville's Cross. The Scots were thoroughly beaten, and King David was himself taken prisoner. He was a captive in England for eleven years, but was, in 1357, ransomed upon a truce. The mutual hatred of the nations made a lasting peace

impossible. Indeed, no treaty of peace was made between England and Scotland until rienry VII.'s reign.

8. For eight years after the taking of Calais the war almost ceased. In 1348-9 a more fatal scourge even than war came upon England—the great Plague, called the Black Death, which in one year carried off little, if anything, less than half the population. While it was fresh in men's minds, they



FRANCE AFTER THE TREATY OF 1259.

(The dotted line encloses the lands held by the King of England.)

thought of other things than fighting with France; and the truce already in force was renewed from time to time. But in 1355 the work of destruction began again.

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In 1356 another great victory—that of Poitiers — was gained by the English and Gascons. King Philip had died in the meantime, and his son John was now king of France. This year the Black Prince, who was then living at Bordeaux as governor of Gascony, went northwards on a plundering raid. On his way back he came upon the French king and an army of 60,000, who had posted themselves across his path, at Maupertuis, near Poitiers. His force was small—barely 12,000; Battle of yet when he found that John would hear of September nothing but a full surrender, he drew up his 1356. men on a rising ground girt round with vineyards, and offered battle. A narrow lane was the only way by which the enemy could reach them. The hedge on each side of this he lined with archers; and when the mounted men-at-arms of the French tried to force a passage they fell thick and fast before the deadly hail of arrows. When the archers had done their part, Edward issued from his position at the head of his cavalry, and after a stiff bit of fighting, routed and chased the enemy to the gates of Poitiers. Several thousands were slain; the king, his son, and many nobles were made prisoners. Next spring the Black Prince sailed with his royal captives to England.

Three years later peace came. The terms that John first agreed to were rejected by the French States-general as dishonourable; and King Edward, furious at not getting what he thought himself sure of, led a new army in a destroying march through northern France and Burgundy, even threatening Paris. At Bretigny, however, he accepted a treaty that left him master of Poitou, and of all the country that spreads from Poitou to the Pyrenees, as well as of Calais and Ponthieu, in as full sovereignty as that by which he held England In return he gave up his claim to the crown of France (1360)

CHAPTER III.

SECOND STAGE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

1. THE peace that followed the Treaty of Bretigny lasted for but nine years. In 1367 the Black Prince was foolish enough to march an army across the Pyrenees, Black to put back on the throne of Castile the king who had been driven out, infamous as Pedro tile, 1367. the Cruel. Though he added to his glories the victory of Najera, won over Pedro's half-brother and rival, Henry of Trastamare, he was forced by the faithlessness of his ally to return to Bordeaux, broken in health and burdened with debt. In his need he laid a hearth-tax on the Gascons; but some of these would not pay it, and appealed against the tax to the king of France, as if he were still their supreme lord. By this time John was dead, and his son, Charles V., was on the French throne. Despite the Treaty of Bretigny, Charles listened to the complaints of the Gascons, and Bretigny called upon Prince Edward to appear before France. him at Paris. Edward sent a haughty answer; and the war broke out again.

2. Few events of striking interest mark this stage. The English had not abated one jot of their skill and daring, and in the field were as superior to the foe as War ever. But Charles was wiser than his father renewed. or grandfather, and, carefully avoiding battles, left the English to waste their strength on profitless marchings hither and thither. The Black Prince, too, was already in the grasp of the disease which Massacrekilled him in 1376, and after wreaking a bloody vengeance on the men of Limoges who had gone over to the enemy soon after the renewal of the war, withdrew to England in 1371.

3. His brother, John, Duke of Lancaster, to whom

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he left his post, was not a great leader in war. The war, therefore, now went altogether in favour of the French, who year after year attacked Guienne and Poitou. Though the English disputed the ground inch by inch, the French had before King Edward's death not only won back Poitou, but also made themselves masters of all Guienne save Bordeaux and Bayonne, and some strong places on the river Dordogne. 1377 Edward III. died, and the Black Edward Prince's son, Richard of Bordeaux, came to III. dies. 1377. the throne. Still the war went on, but on no settled plan. There were French descents on the English coast, English expeditions to France, fighting in Britanny, threatened French invasions of England, and a truce now and then. Yet in 1396, when Richard made Truce of 1306. a truce for 28 years with Charles VI., the English position was little changed from what it had been. in 1377.

CHAPTER IV.

THIRD STAGE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

1. WHEN the war entered upon its third stage, the crown of England had passed to another line of kings. 1399 the people had risen in arms against Richard II., had taken the crown from him, and given it to his cousin, Henry Bolingbroke, son of John, Duke of Lancaster. Henry IV. reigned until his death in 1413, and then his son, Henry V., became king. Henry V. was a man of vast ambition and great ability, and in 1415 he sailed from Southampton to Normandy with a large War again army. Charles VI. of France was subject to renewed. 1415. fits of madness, and his kingdom was rent asunder by the strife of contending factions. Henry wished to take advantage of their disunion to force the

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French, by constant warfare, to admit his title to their crown. Yet he had not the shadow of a claim, not even King Edward's; for being a descendant only of Edward's fourth son, he was not Edward's heir so long as any member of the Mortimer family, descendants of Edward's third son, Lionel, survived. Nor had he Edward's excuse for going to war. France was too busy tearing itself to pieces to have time to work mischief to its neighbours.

2. Henry's first attempt, though it ended in failure, was marked by the great victory of Agincourt. On landing in Normandy he spent a long time in taking Harfleur, and then led his force, greatly Agincourt, thinned by disease, towards Calais. He made his way in the face of many difficulties to the Somme, and it was only after a long and tedious march up the left bank of this river that he was able to get across. But on coming near Agincourt (Azincourt) he found in front of him a huge French army, which he must either beat, or give up all hope of ever getting to Calais. Accordingly, on St. Crispin's day (October 25)

the battle of Agincourt was fought.

3. Again the odds were fearfully against the English. They were a mere handful—but 9,000 in all—ragged, half-starved, and wayworn; whilst the enemy are said to have been 60,000. The fight differed, however, in one point from the fights of Cressy and Poitiers—the English gave the onset. But the result was the same. The first line of the French was thrown into disorder by the shower of arrows that the archers poured in upon them, and was then broken in pieces by the men-at-arms; the second was routed after a two hours' contest by the men-at-arms alone; and the Oct. 1413.

^a See Table, p. 77.

the first shock. Three dukes, about a thousand of the inferior nobility, and of the common folk a countless number, were slain, and there were two dukes among the prisoners. The English loss was small in comparison.

4. Two years afterwards (1417) Henry returned with a force of 16,000 men-at-arms and 16,000 archers, and at once set about conquering Normandy. Un-Conquest of like Edward III., he wrought in deadly Normandy. X4X7-18. earnest at the task he had put his hand to. He was fully bent on making himself king of France, and threw his whole force into the work. Partly for this reason, and partly because the furious strife of French parties left him without an enemy in the field, he went much nearer gaining his object than Edward-indeed in a sense he did gain it. In two campaigns he mastered Normandy, with its strongholds, cities, towns, and seaports. It cost him an endless line of sieges, of which the siege of Rouen in 1418 was the one that taxed his powers most. But he took the place notwithstanding its stubborn resistance.

5. Next year (1419) he took Pontoise, and threatened Paris. And just as the two French parties seemed about to combine against him, John, Duke of Burgundy, the leader of one, was treacherously murdered by the friends of the other. Upon this, Burgundy's son, Treaty of Troyes, Philip, joined Henry, and the French authorities had to give way. A treaty was made at Troyes by which Henry was to give up calling himself king of France so long as Charles VI. lived, but was to rule the country with full royal power under the title of Regent and Heir of France, and was to wed Charles's daughter Catherine. Henry survived this seeming fulfilment of all his hopes for only two years. He dies, 1422. died on the last day of August 1422. His son Henry, a child ten months old, succeeded to his kingdom.

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John, Duke of Bedford, his elder living brother, took his place at Paris.

6. The war did not end with the Treaty of Troyes. Charles, the French king's son, still fought for his rights as heir—and upon his father dying, shortly after Henry, as king. A large part of France upheld his cause. But Bedford was a wise ruler and skilful general; John, Duke and the English power went on spreading of Bedford. until, by 1428, it had covered almost the whole of the country north of the Loire.

7. Next year the tide turned. Whilst an English army was besieging Orleans, a young peasant girl, born at Domremy in Champagne, known in history as Jeanne d'Arc, or the Maid, who believed d'Arc, that she had heard heavenly voices bidding there are feath and delivered.

her go forth and deliver France, made her way with a handful of men into the city, and in a few days forced the English to raise the siege. She followed them, stormed Jargeau, and took their leader, the Earl of Suffolk, prisoner. She then pushed on along the road to Paris, met Talbot-then thought to be the greatest living soldier-at Patay, and beat and took Patay, 1429. captive him also. There was a general feeling that the Unseen Powers were fighting on the side of the Maid, and the hearts of the English sank within them, while the courage of the French rose. When, therefore, Jeanne started on the second part of her divine mission, which was to bring Charles to Rheims to be crowned, she made her way to that place almost with ease, though the country through which she had to pass was in the hands of the enemy. This, the purely successful part of the Maid's career, lasted for less than three months (April 29-July 17, 1429). She now wished to go back to her home, but Charles would not let her. It would perhaps have been better for all if he had. Next year (1430) she was taken

at Compiègne, brought, after a long delay, to Rouen, was there charged with heresy and witchcraft before burnt, 1431. the Court of the Bishop of Beauvais—who was, however, pushed on to the work by Bedford—found guilty, and burnt (1431). She was treated basely by all. Bur-



FRANCE AFTER THE PEACE OF BRETIGNY.

(The dotted lines enclose the Dominions of the King of England.)

gundy, whose troops made her prisoner, sold her to Bedford; Bedford sent her to the stake; and Charles did not make the slightest effort to save her.

8. The English power in France never recovered the shock she gave it. Bedford's wisdom and Charles's

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sloth prevented the end coming as soon as it might have done; but the end was sure. Even the crowning of the lad Henry, at Paris, in crowned at 1431, failed to check the downward course Paris, 1431. of English affairs; and when, in 1435, Burgundy and Charles made up their quarrel at Arras, and Bedford died, another serious blow was dealt to the English. In 1436 Paris was lost. For a time fate was kept at bay by the valour of Richard, Duke of York, the future claimant of the crown of England, and old John Talbot, the former of whom succeeded Bedford as regent. Inceed, English rule in France died hard; in spite of all the efforts of both Charles and Burgundy, in 1444 the strangers still held Normandy, Maine, and Guienne. But in 1448 Maine was given up in accordance with a pledge that Henry had made when married to Margaret of Anjou three years before. In 1449 Charles led an army into Normandy, and never rested until he had reconquered the whole duchy. This done, he went straight upon Guienne; and ere the summer of 1451 was over Guienne to its last fortress was also his. Next year (1452) old Talbot and his son landed near Bordeaux with 4,000 men. They were asked to come by the inhabitants of Guienne, who disliked their new They gained some successes at first; but in 1453, both father and son were killed, and their army routed, at Castillon. In a few months Bordeaux yielded, and the Hundred Years' War was over. Calais alone remained to the English.

BOOK IV.

ENGLAND IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

PARLIAMENTARY PROGRESS.

1. DURING the fourteenth century and greater part of the fifteenth, Parliament grew steadily in power Growth of Parliament. and importance. From the time when it first came into being until the reign of Edward IV. (1295-1461) it met with but one serious check in its progressthe short-lived despotism of Richard II. before his fall in 1399. It would not be easy to tell with exactness what rights and what duties it had at first. It was supposed to have a voice in the making of laws; yet the king made laws now and then without asking its assent. The king would seem to have often asked its advice, yet it cannot be proved that he was bound to do so, or to take its advice when given. Though it was now and then called upon to sanction the king's acts, there is little doubt that most of his acts would have held good without its approval.

2. But two things about Parliament stand out in a very marked way, even in the first fifty years of its existence:

Powers of Parliament. (1) When it was thought needful to do anything in a specially solemn way, it was done in Parliament; (2) Parliament alone had the lawful power of binding the estates of the kingdom to the payment of a tax.

Let us take some instances of the first of these powers. Edward II. was a worthless king and wasted his substance. His nobles thought it right to try and put a stop to this, and in 1311 drew up a number of dinances for the purpose. Now, not only were ordinances accepted by Edward in Parliament, but in

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Parliament also were they revoked, when in 1322, Edward became a free agent once more. And the treaty with Scotland in 1328 was ratified in Parliament. It may have been only a way of letting the nation know what nearly concerned itself, or the presence of the assembled Estates may have been thought to make things more solemn. Again, the sole power of Parliament to decree taxes was not quite surely fixed. For a time the king was able to partly defeat that power in two ways. First, he claimed the right of still drawing supplies of money now and then -tallages they were called-from the towns in his demesne. Then, too, he sometimes brought together the wealthiest merchants and prevailed upon them to allow him to take tolls-often very heavy ones-from wool and other articles which they sent abroad. Both of these were, however, got rid of in Edward III.'s reign. In 1340 the king pledged himself in the strongest words henceforth to levy no 'charge or aid' but by the common assent of the estates, 'and that in parliament;' and in 1362 he agreed to a law abolishing the other customs

3. On the whole the reign of Edward III. was a very healthy time for Parliament. Early in it the division of that body into two houses took place. The knights of the shire united themselves with Edward III. Reign of Edward III. The citizens and burgesses to form the lower III. The bishops and abbots joined with the lay peers to form the upper house. In Edward III.'s reign, also, the practice became usual of making grants of money only in return for a promise to redress grievances; and it was at the same time that the uncertain rights of being alone able to grant money to the king and having a voice in public affairs became almost real. During the war with France, King Edward, wishing to get the Commons to approve of what he was doing, asked their advice

about the war. At first they answered that they were too simple to deal with such high matters; but they were afterwards bold enough to give an opinion in favour of peace. In this way they came to have a real right to talk about all questions of state and give their views about them. After a time, too, the Commons got an important voice in law-making; laws were now made by the king 'by the assent,' or 'assent and prayer,' of the great men and Commons of his kingdom.

4. One other great privilege the lower house gained in this reign—that of *impeaching*—that is, of bringing to trial before the upper house the servants of the crown who seemed to them to have done wrong. The assembly

that first used this power is known as the The 'good parliament,' 'good parliament,' which sat in 1376. There 1376. was for the last few years of Edward III.'s life a very angry feeling throughout the country. The king, grown old in mind before his time, had fallen into evil hands. There were people about him who were making themselves rich out of the national purse. The Black Prince was dying; and his brother, John of Gaunt. was suspected of plotting against the rights of his son, Richard of Bordeaux. A bad woman, Alice Perrers, ruled in the king's palace. Many men in power stopped at no wickedness in trying to gain their evil ends. So from all these things grave mischiet was being wrought to the nation. Under the guidance of one Peter de la Mare—the first who held the office of Speaker, though he was not called by that name—the Commons at once picked out for punishment the worst of the transgressors, Lord Latimer, the chamberlain, and a certain Richard Lyons. These they charged with having bought up the king's debts at a low price, and then got payment in full from the royal revenue; with taking bribes from the king's enemies, and with seizing for their own use sums that

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ought by right to have been paid into the king's treasury. The rage against them was so great that their patron, John of Gaunt, was powerless to check it. They were thrown into prison; and when the crimes laid to their charge had been proved, the Lords sentenced Latimer to be imprisoned and fined as the king should think fit, and to lose his office, and Lyons to be stripped of his wealth and sent to the Tower. Alice Perrers, too, was to forfeit her property and be banished. There can hardly be a doubt that the Black Prince and William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, who had once been chancellor, heartily forwarded these doings of the Commons. Indeed it is very likely that they planned and set them in motion. In any case, the Commons had clearly a very strong affection for the Prince's family, for on his dying (Trinity Sunday, 1376) when Parliament was still sitting, they prayed that his son, Richard, should be brought before them as heir-apparent, which prayer

the king granted. Finally, as a means of guarding the nation from such men as Latimer and Lyons for the future, they entreated the king to take into his council a body of lords on whom they believed that they could rely. This prayer also was granted; and after a session of two months—the longest yet known—the 'good parliament' went its ways.

5. After all, it had done very little good. It had hardly gone when John of Gaunt became all-powerful in the state once more; Alice Perrers returned to Court, and Latimer was restored to favour; John of de la Mare was sent to prison; and Wykeham, charged with having, when chancellor, misused the moneys in his hands, lost his income as bishop, and was forbidden to come within twenty miles of the Court. And, worst of all, early next year a new parliament was called which undid all that had been done against Latimer and Lyons, and

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was quite as willing to some the mais of John of Gaunt as the 'good parliament' had been to serve the ends of the Black Prince; for it seems to have been then possible for men in power to get members chosen for the lower house who would act as they wished—to not k a parliament, in fact. One lasting benefit, nowever, followed from the work of the 'good parliament;' the right that it was the first to use, of impeaching the king's ministers was not forgotten in later times, and became a very ready way of frightening men who were willing to help a tyrannical king.

6. A few months later King Edward died (1377); and again all was changed. John of Gaunt lost his power. He was shut out even from the council which Richard II. the great men appointed to rule during the minority of Richard, who was then but eleven years old. A parliament that was soon afterwards called by the new king was so far from helping Lancaster's plans that the Commons again chose Peter de la Mare for their speaker. Indeed this parliament acted very boldly. The First parliament of Richard II. Commons asked that eight members should be added to the council, that the great officers of X377. state should be chosen by Parliament so ing as the king was under age, and that the grant of money-a very large one-which they had made to the king should be paid into the hands of two persons who should see that it was rightly used. And all these demands the king agreed to. This body, moreover, is a fair type of all the parliaments of the first twelve years of Richard's ign. generally very firm in their dealings the he king, very stiff in upholding their own rights, and otten used great plainness of speech in their addresses and petitions. During these twelve years the power of the Commons was ever growing.

CHAPTER II.

RISING OF THE COMMONS.

1. THE latter half of the fourteenth century was a stirring time for the English working classes. Owing to many causes—at some of which we can only guess -an angry and fretful spirit had got the mastery over them. They felt themselves to be deeply wronged by the owners of lands, who were reaping the fruits of their industry, and yet wanted to keep them in bondage or to bring them back to a bondage from which they had almost escaped. A great change which was going on added to the hardships of their lot, and to their wrath in consequence.

2. In earlier days most of the rustic folk, of the men who tand the soil, belonged to the class called villeins. who were bound to toil with their hands on the farms of their lead, and could not leave his service as they chose, for they were in a certain sense his property quite as much his horses and dogs. But a villein had his rights; the cottage and patch of villein ground that his lord allowed him in payment rights. of his labour or for his support, became in course of time his property, which his lord could not touch se long as the services to which the villein was bound were duly rendered. After a time many lords agreed to take money in place of villein services; others set their villeins free. The spirit of the law and the influence of the Church worked together to lessen the evils of villenage and the number of villeins. So it came about that the rustics throughout the country were much better off than before. Most of them were as good as free: many of them were altogether so.

3. This happy state of things was rudely shaken by the

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Great Plague of 1349. In this almost, if not quite, onehalf of the labouring population was cut off. There were no longer labourers enough to till the soil. The Black Death, 1349. Wages rose suddenly to an unheard-of height: and the great lords were at their wits' end to know how to get their farms cultivated. In their distress Statute of Labourers, they got a law passed, called the Statute of 1350. Labourers, by which all men trained to labour were bound under penalties to work for the same wages as had been customary in 1347. This law failed in its object; it was followed by others of a similar kind, which were alike of no effect. Many of the great landowners then began to cut up their huge farms, which had been hitherto managed by bailiffs, into smaller ones, and to let these out on short leases. Indeed, this is said to be the beginning of the practice of letting now in use. Others, however, tried to fall back on the custom of villein service, which had so greatly fallen out of use. Many were claimed as villeins who had never had a doubt of their freedom. And it is supposed that an attempt was made at the same time by those who had taken to the custom of letting their farms, to return to the older way of farming by bailiffs.

4. About this time, also, the movement set on foot by Wicliff began to find its way down into the mass of the Wiclifftism people. One of his peculiar doctrines—that it was unlawful for the clergy to hold property—was turned into a belief that all property was unlawful; and many of the lower orders thought that all men should be brought to one common level. The spokesman of this doctrine was John Ball, who asked—

When Adam delved and Evé span, Who was then a gentleman?

5. Yet there might not have been any rising of the kind but for a measure that parliament was forced to Ly the

straits they were brought into regarding the means of raising money for the king. The last parliament of Edward III. had voted a poll-tax of four pence a head, which was to be paid by everyone in the The poll-tax Again, in 1379, a similar grant was made, which, however, differed from that of 1377 in the fact that each man was rated according to his rank, a duke paying 61. 13s. 4d.; an ordinary labourer, four pence. In 1380 Parliament enacted that for every person above the age of 15 there should be paid to the crown a sum not less than twelve pence, and not more than twenty shillings. It was this tax that did the mischief; in the June of the next year the com-

mons of almost every county sprang suddenly to arms.

6. The outbreak must have been planned beforehand, for it took place in counties far apart from each other almost at the same time. Many of the classes which took part in it had little in common. Between the men of Kent, where villenage had never been known, and the men of Essex, who clamoured to be freed from villenage, there could be little sympathy. But it would seem that all who had wrongs to complain of agreed to act together to avenge or to redress them. The men of Kent rose under Wat Tyler, and, moving on London, burnt the Savoy, the palace of John of Gaunt, whom they specially disliked. At the same time the men of Essex and the men of Hertfordshire also made for the capital in separate bodies. In a few days there was hardly a shire that was not in arms. There was great destruction of legal documents, the poor rustics hoping that thus might perish every record of their past or present bondage. King Richard, who was then in the Tower, rode out to Mile End, where the men of Essex were, and heard their demands. These were that bondage and tolls at markets should utterly cease, a fixed

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rent be paid for land in place of villein services, and a general pardon be granted to those who had taken up arms. All these the king promised to grant; Demanda and the men of Essex went home. But while of the commons. Richard was at Mile End the Kentish men broke into the Tower; seized, dragged out, and murdered Simon of Sudbury, primate and chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer; and did many other acts of gross outrage. Next day Richard met the whole rout in Smithfield, and was talking with them, when Walworth, the mayor of London, smote down Tyler, who was at once killed. For a moment Richard and those with him were in great danger; but the king, boy as he was, had all the fearlessness of his race. He put himself at the head of the rebels, led them into the open country, and when the Londoners gathered a force and surrounded them, would not allow them to be harmed. He even gave them the charters of freedom they had asked for. Then the men of Kent also went home. In many other places throughout England deeds of outrage and bloodshed were done; but either the doers were put down with the strong hand, or they made haste to get home on hearing what had happened in London. Then an awful vengeance was taken on the hapless rustics. The law went to work, and cut down its victims by hundreds and Even the charters of freedom which had been given them were taken away again. Indeed, the king had gone beyond his powers in granting them. Still, the lesson was not lost on the landholders. When their fright had passed away they gave over insisting on villein service, and let the movement towards freedom take its course.

CHAPTER III.

WICLIF.

AT this time the minds of many people were in a restless state on religious matters also. Both the authority of the pope and the influence of the clergy had been for some time on the wane in England. The pope had made himself unpopular by the authority. claim he made to raise whomsoever of his Italian servants he pleased to preferments in the English Church, and many laws had been passed, called statutes of Provisors or of Præmunire, to put an end to the evil. Moreover, in 1307 the seat of the papacy was shifted from Rome to Avignon, a place on the French border. for seventy years every pope was a Frenchman, and was believed to be working in the interests of France. During the greater part of this time France and England were the bitterest of enemies. England was not likely to stand in much awe of a French pope. Accordingly in 1366 she told him that she would never again pay the tribute of 1,000 marks that John had promised for himself and his heirs, which had already not been paid for thirty-three years. And even the English clergy had sunk in the respect of the people since Becket's time. Such a crime, for instance, as the murder of Simon of Sudbury, would in the twelfth century have provoked a cry of horror from all parts; in the fourteenth century the actual murderers were beheaded, and that was all. For this decay of respect for them the clergy were themselves much to biame. The higher members of them did not as a rule do their duties as they ought. The great Churchmen loved to add benefice to benefice, sought preferment in the state,

and largely forgot their spiritual in their worldly duties.

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hen on dom Many persons took orders only that they might get what is known as the 'benefit of clergy,' and so not get such heavy punishments for their misdoings. Even the friars, whose appearance in England a century before had brought about a great religious revival, had become as selfish and as worldly as the others. One little fact would seem to show that the laity were beginning to be

Sir Robert
Bourchier
first lay
chancellor,
1340.

as learned as the clergy. In the reign of
Edward III. the office of chancellor was held
for the first time by a layman, one Sir Robert
Bourchier, who was raised to the post in 1340.

Robert.

A movement which had as its aim the reform of the Church on these and other points was begun about 1363.

In this John Wiclif led the way. Wiclif was John Wiclif, a Yorkshireman who had first gained wide 1324 ?-84. fame for his learning. As a teacher at Oxford, where he passed the most active part of his life, he had the means of spreading his views. About 1363 he came forward as an assailant of the wealth and worldly greatness of the clergy. To the begging friars he had a special dislike. He charged them with cunning, greed, and worldliness. After a time he became largely mixed up with the political strife of the day, being an ally of John of Gaunt, who had no real care for reforming the Church, as Wiclif had, but who thought Wiclif would be useful in helping on his own ends. As yet the Reformer had not made known-perhaps had not formed-those opinions on many of the doctrines of the Church for which he was afterwards called a heretic. He was severe upon the general conduct of the clergy, declared that the property in their hands was held by them only in trust for the poor; and that if they betrayed their trust, the State might take it from them; and he wished

spiritual men to keep themselves to their spiritual duties. He also became known as an earnest foe of the power of the pope in England, and was on that account sent in 1374 to Bruges to try and arrange some settlement of the papal claims with the pope's envoys there.

The higher clergy soon came to look on Wiclif as a dangerous man, and more than once sought to crush him. In 1377 Courtenay, the high-born bishop of London, summoned him before an assembly of bishops at St. Paul's; but John of Gaunt and Lord St. Paul's, Percy went with him to his trial. High wands 1377:

Percy went with him to his trial. High words passed between Percy and Courtenay, and the meeting broke up in confusion. A second attempt was made against him next year at Lambeth; but it also failed, because the Princess of Wales, King Richard's mother, took Wiclif's part, and the Londoners broke into the assembly. These things show that Wiclif had a powerful party at his back. But when, a few years later, he began to utter strange words about one or two of the cherished doctrines of the Church, John of Gaunt and his party shook him off; and when Courtenay renewed the attack upon him in 1382, the Reformer was advised by his once steadfast friend to yield. He did not do so without a struggle; indeed we cannot be quite sure that he did so at all. Many of his opinions were condemned by a Church synod which Courtenay, now primate, called at the Blackfriars; and a crusade

was begun by the same prelate against Wiclif's friends at Oxford. There was a stiff contest at the later place, where Wiclif was very powerful; but the Primate won in the end. Wiclif explained—some say, recanted—the utterances that had given offence, and withdrew to his parish of Lutterworth, where no further notice was taken of him. He died shortly afterwards (December 31, 1384). He left behind him one great work, the whole Bible

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done into English from the Latin text called the Vulgate, which was the only one then in use. It was done partly by himself and partly by men of learning among his followers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOLLARDS.

r. Bur Wiclif's death did not abate the activity of his party. Under the name of Lollards, they began to make themselves very busy in the affairs both of Lollards. Church and State, doing their best to spread among the people new notions—some of them very wild, such as would be likely to unsettle the minds of simple men. Their favourite belief was, that without personal grace no man, king or priest, could have any lawful authority over They also declared that such trades as minister to pride and self-indulgence were sinful. They moreover, were bitter against many of the doctrines and practices of the Church, such as transubstantiation, imageworship, and pilgrimages. Their enemies charged them with being sowers of sedition; and certainly they seem to have helped to keep alive the general feeling of restlessness throughout the country. One fact about the Lollards is worthy of notice. Though they were found chiefly among the common people, they had many friends among the higher classes, and even at Richard's court. Indeed, Richard's first wife, Anne of Bohemia, is said to have favoured them. And it is strange that those courtiers whose names appear among the Lollard partisans were the earnest upholders of royal power against those that wanted to keep it within bounds, while the higher clergy generally sided with those who withstood the king. In 1398, when Richard struck a great blow for absolute

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power, the primate Arundel was driven into exile; two years later John Montague, earl of Salisbury, a violent Lollard, was beheaded for having risen in arms to restore Richard to the throne.

2. Yet, though Lollardism was stronger among King Richard's friends and the lowest class than in the House of Commons, the House of Commons did not forget its quarrel with the pope, who still went on defying the statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire, appointing his servants to preferments in England just as he thought fit. After making, in 1390, a useless effort to check him, by passing again the earlier laws on the subject with more severe penalties, in 1393 Parliament at last enacted the famous law of Præmunire. By this law anyone directly or indirectly concerned in bringing into the kingdom decrees of the pope, or Bulls, as they were called, or who made himself an agent in any way of the power claimed by the pope in England, was to be put out of the king's protection and forfeit his lands and goods. This was the last important

3. But if Parliament could set a bound to papal power, it could also be stern-indeed cruel-in its dealings with the Lollards. Whether it was, as some think, that Richard largely owed his fall, and Henry IV. his crown, to the alarm of the clergy at the spread of Lollardism, Henry, soon after his election to the throne, Law against allowed a law of frightful severity to be passed for suppressing heresy. This law, passed in

1401, gave the bishops nower to arrest and try persons suspected of heresy; and if they found them guilty, to hand them over to the sheriff, mayor, or bailiff, who was bound to have them burned before the people. A heretic, however, might once save himself by recanting; but there was no mercy for those who fell back into heresy again. The first to suffer under this law was one William Sawtree,
William a priest. It was not finally done away with
until the first year of Elizabeth's reign.

4. Lollardism lived on for some time longer. In 1413 it boasted that it had 100,000 followers. But in this year it made its last effort to do something great, and failed utterly. Henry V. was hardly crowned, when Sir John Oldcastle, Sir John Oldcastle, the leader of the Lollards 1413. at the time, being a man of great earnestness and zeal in the cause, was brought before the Church authorities on a charge of having designs against the peace of both Church and State. He was condemned, but managed to escape from his prison in the Tower. A strange affair followed, the facts of which are not fully The king told his Parliament afterwards that the party had planned a general rising against society. this was ever thought of, Henry crushed it by suddenly seizing the walls of London on the night fixed for the attempt, and then appearing with an armed band in St. Giles's fields, where the Lollard muster was to take place. He found about a hundred gathered there, and arrested most of them, many of whom were after-Executed. 1417. wards hanged. Oldcastle got off safe to Wales, but in 1417 was retaken, hanged, and burnt.

BOOK V. THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

1. THE Wars of the Roses began in 1455 and ended in 1485; but many of the causes from which they sprang belong to a much earlier time. Side by side with the steady

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growth of the power of Parliament, kingship was growing too. The simple notions about a king, which had satisfied Alfred and even William, gave place to much loftier ones, which looked upon the king Growth of the notion of

kingship.

no longer as merely the first man among the people, but as having something in his character that lifted him far above other folk and gave him a sort of sacredness. This change marked itself in several ways. Richard I. began to use the plural 'we' in his charters; John took the title of 'king of England,' instead of the older 'king of the English,' as if he were owner of every acre of soil in the country. Four days after the death of Henry III. his son Edward was accepted as full king, though the practice had hitherto been to date the beginning of a new king's reign from the day of his coronation. At last there arose the custom of allowing only a single day to divide a new reign from the one before it. Men had come to believe that the throne of England was the property of a family, and that on a king's death his place must needs pass to his lawful heir.

There was henceforth no form of election to the crown in ordinary cases. Some one person was supposed to have what was called a right to the crown, and that person was almost at once hailed as king. If, then, a time should come when the reigning king had not the supposed right, and was of a weaker nature than the man who had, much quarrelling, perhaps even civil war, might be expected.

2. Now this was exactly the state of things in 1455; but to understand how it all came about, we must go back to a much earlier time. From the reign of John there was a powerful party among the barons who kept watch on the king and would not let him have his own

way in all things. After the rise of Parliament these barons usually made the two houses, especially the lower, their place of action.

sometimes called the Lancastrian party, because the Lancastrian family now and then gave it a leader.

3. The half-royal, and at last altogether royal, House of Lancaster sprang from Edmund, younger son of Henry III., who had at the same time the earldoms The House of Lancaster and Leicester. To these his son Lancaster. Thomas added three more-Lincoln, Derby, and Salisbury; and in the reign of his cousin, Edward II., overshadowed the throne itself by the greatness of his power and influence. He led, but with little Thomas, earl of Lanwisdom or public spirit, the baronial party in caster, died their quarrels with Edward II. and his favourites, Gaveston and the Despensers; but getting beaten and taken prisoner at Boroughbridge in 1322, he was beneaded. He left no children, but his brother Henry afterwards received the earldom of Leicester. Mortimer then became the head of the Lancastrian party: and as such overthrew, in 1327, Edward II., and got Edward III. raised to the throne. The fall of Henry, Edward II. restored Henry to three more of cester, died his brother's earldoms, and gave him the first p ace both in the council that was entrusted with the rule o' England in the minority of the new king, and among tl e nobility. It was, however, in the person of his son, also a Henry, that his house reached its greatest splendour before it became royal. For this Henry H'mry, won high renown in the French wars, gaining, ca l and duke of as earl of Derby, the wonderful victory of Lancaster. Auberoche, in 1345, over fearful odds. died 1361.

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. He had no son; but his second daughter, Blanche, married John of Gaunt, and brought her husband, duke of Lancaster.

1351 he was made first duke of Lancaster. He had no son; but his second daughter, Blanche, married John of Gaunt, and brought her husband, upon her father's and elder sister's death, the headship, honours, and lands of the great

duchy. Duke John left-at least, for a time-the path

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in politics usually taken by his house; between 1374 and 1381 he was the champion of the evil deeds and misrule at court which the 'good parliament' had in vain striven to curb.

4. His son, Henry Bolingbroke, did not follow in his father's steps, but returned to the ways of his mother's forefathers. He was, when still very young, found in the front ranks of those who were Henry Boiingbroke. trying to make head against King Richard II.'s 1366-1413. wilfulness and wastefulness. In 1386, being then called Earl of Derby, he joined with his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, Edward III.'s youngest son, in driving from power and punishing Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, and other favourites of the king, and forcing Richard to take as advisers men more agreeable to the Commons. De la Pole was impeached, found guilty of various crimes, and sentenced to lose almost all he had, and to be imprisoned; and Richard had to submit to a council of regency, which ruled in his name. Next year he tried Council of with all his might to throw off the yoke. But his plans failed. His friends were charged with treason. An attempt made by De Vere, now duke of Ireland, to free his master from restraint by force was defeated at Radcot Bridge; and Gloucester, Derby, and the rest made Richard call a par-In 1388 this parliament met, and dealt, under Gloucester's guidance, so cruelly with the king's partisans that it got the name of the 'merciless parliament.' Many it put to death; others it banished; all who came within its reach it punished in some way.

5. For a year longer Richard was king only in name; the reality of power was in the hands of his uncle. But in 1389 he recovered his power by a bold stroke, and for eight years ruled with mildness and judgment. He

called many parliaments, seemed eager to please them, took no vengeance on the men who had sent his friends

Richard II. as a constitutional king, by the nation. During these years the Commons were as meek and ready to please the king as they had before been stern and desirous to curb

him; and the current of affairs went smoothly on.

6. In 1397 Richard entered on a new course. The year before he had gone to France to marry the French king's daughter, Isabella. It is thought that Richard II. he was so taken with the charms of absolute as a despot, 1397-99power as seen at the French court that he resolved to try and set it up in England. In any case most of his former enemies were suddenly seized and thrown into prison by his orders, Gloucester being sent to Calais. Before a parliament called for the purpose the earls of Armedet and Warwick were charged with treason; the former was beheaded, and the latter doomed to imprisonment for life. Gloucester died, perhaps by violence, at Calais; and the primate Arundel, brother of the earl, was impeached and banished. To crown all, next year the same parliament laid the liberties of the nation at the king's feet. It voted him a tax on wool, woolfells, and leather for life, and handed over its powers to a body of twelve peers and six commoners, all friends of the king. Richard was now master of England.

7. Henry, earl of Derby, had taken the king's side in this affair, and was created duke of Hereford for his ser-Banishment vices. Soon after, having accused Mowbray, of Henry Boling-broke, 1398. words against the king, he was challenged by Mowbray to mortal combat. But just as the two were about to close, they were called before the king, who was present, and banished the kingdom—Mowbray for life, Henry for ten years. This was in 1398; and in 1399

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John of Gaunt died. Richard at once took the Lancaster estates to himself, though he had given a solemn promise to his cousin to leave them untouched. He then went to Ireland. During his absence Henry Bolingbroke landed with a few followers at Ravenspurg, and being joined by the Perci omes back and the Nevilles, easily overthrew the men whom Richard had entrusted his kingdom. The king, com ing back from Ireland, was made captive in North Wales, and after being forced to issue from Chester writs for a new parliament, was carried to London. Richard then resigned the crown. Next day (September 30, 1399) the parliament met, and, after listening to Dethronethirty-three charges against Richard, declared

ment of Richard him deposed. Thereupon Henry of Lancaster and election of Henry, Sept. 30,

'as being descended in the right line of descent from Henry III.'-words that seemingly accepted as true a foolish tale that Edmund of Lancaster had really been the elder son of Henry III., but had been set aside because he was humpbacked—a notion that his surname, Crouchback, put into men's heads. His claim was admitted, and he became king. But at that time whatever right descent could give to the vacant throne clearly belonged to the young earl of March, great-grandson of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.1

claimed the now vacant throne in a set speech

1 Table showing descendants of Edward III.

Edward III. Lionel, 3rd son; John of Gaunt, 4th son; Edmund, 5th son. Philippa. Henry IV. Roger Mortimer. Henry V. Henry VI. Anne Mortimer, who married Richard, arl of Cambridge Mortimer (earl of March). Richard, duke of York.

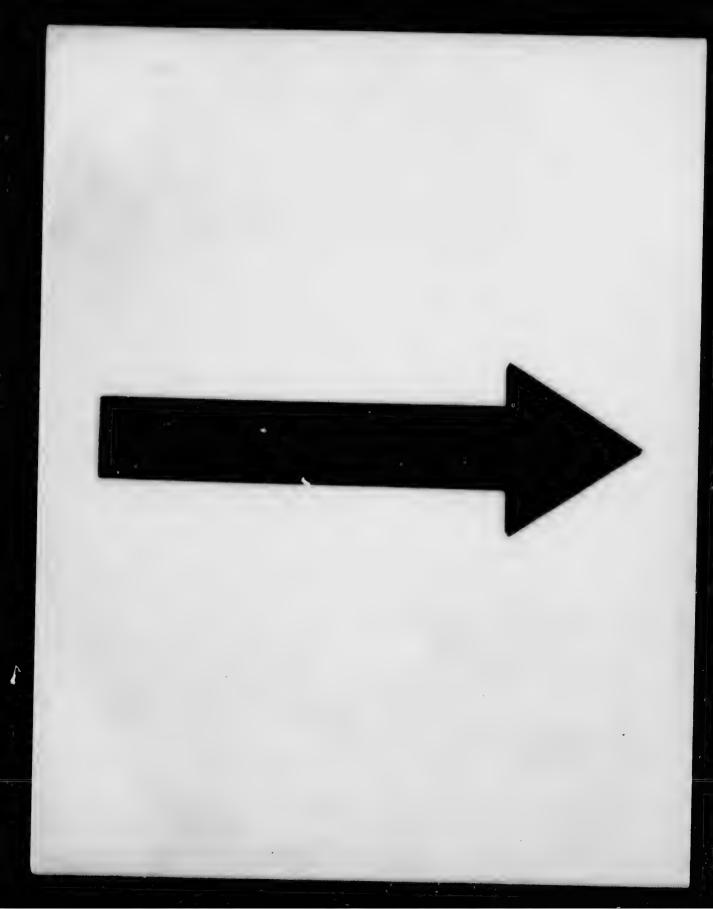
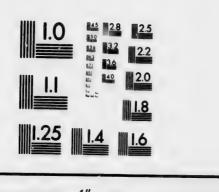


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Renry IV. reigned for fourteen years, and had many troubles therein. The friends of Richard rose in arms. The Percies again and again rebelled; and king.

Wales, under Owen Glendower, defied Henry's power for several years. But Richard's friends were destroyed. Richard himself died an unknown death in prison. Harry Hotspur, one leader of the Percies, was beaten and killed at Shrewsbury in 1403. Hotspur's father, the earl of Northumberland, met the same fate at Bramham Moor in 1408; and Owen Glendower was overcome at last by Henry's valiant son, Henry of Monmouth.

9. In 1413 Henry of Monmouth himself became king as Henry V. His reign is almost entirely taken up with the events of the great French war into which he Henry V. king. threw himself with his whole force. Yeteven he 1413-1422. was once called on to deal with a plot against his crown and life. In 1415, while he was at Southampton making ready to start for France, he learned that his cousin Richard, earl of Cambridge, grandson of Edward III., through that king's fifth son, Edmund, duke of York, was conspiring with other men of rank to make the Earl of March king. Richard and the other conspirators were tried, found guilty, and put to death; but the affair showed that there were still sleeping forces in England that might some time be roused by events into fearful activity.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VI.

1. HENRY of Windsor succeeded his father in 1422. His reign of thirty-nine years was little more than a minority from beginning to end; at first his youth, afterwards his gentleness of character or weakness of intellect, made

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His nority is his him unfit for his post. The State thus became a battlefield for rival nobles, each of whom strove for the mastery, merely from love of power or a desire to see his enemies humbled. England, in fact, was clearly on her way to some great struggle such as the Wars of the Roses—a grand fight, not for principles but for men, in which the whole question would be who should rule England, not how England should be ruled.

2. Henry's reign was a time when great families had more of their way in English state affairs than they had ever had before. The king was helpless in the hands of his uncle, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the Beauforts, the De la Poles, the Staffords, the Nevilles, and the family of Richard, duke of York. Duke Humphrey was the youngest son of Humphrey. Henry IV., and as the nearest of kin in England to the young king while his died, 1447. brother Bedford was absent in France, as he generally was, he thought the first place in the government to be naturally his due. Parliament, too, had made him 'Protector of the Realm and Church of England '-a title which he took very unwillingly, for he longed to be regent-and gave him a council of nineteen to control his actions. But in using even this scanty measure of power he found himself thwarted by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, then chan-Cardinal Beaufort, cellor and afterwards cardinal. Beaufort was died, 1447.

the ablest of John of Gaunt's three sons by Catherine Swinford, all of whom were born before wedlock, but were made legitimate by royal patent and an Act of Parliament in Richard II.'s reign.¹ His eldest brother, The House of Beaufort. John, was created earl of Somerset, his of Beaufort. youngest, Thomas, duke of Exeter. Henry Beaufort had thus a powerful connexion. Gloucester and he were the

bitterest foes. They fought in season and out of season, with their tongues at the council-board and elsewhere; while their followers attacked one another with stouter weapons in the streets of London, on London Bridge, and at the gates of the Tower. Bedford worked hard to make them friends, and in 1425 brought them together in a parliament held at Leicester, where they Parliament of bats, went through the forms of a reconciliation. 1425. The name by which this parliament is known in history—' parliament of bats'—is a proof of the character of the time and of the spirit in which Gloucester and his uncle were made to seek each other's friendship; for the servants of Members having been forbidden to carry arms to this meeting, brought with them clubs instead. Afterwards, when clubs also were denied them. they hid stones and bits of lead in their sleeves. After this Beaufort left England for a short time; but on his return the war was carried on again as bitterly as ever. Gloucester worked hard to ruin his rival, but in spite of great advantages failed in the end.

3. When men are in such a temper they readily subjects to quarrel about. Beaufort was in favour of peace with France while England had still conquests to keep. Gloucester wished to carry on the war until the whole of France should be conquered. This, indeed, became the chief point of dispute between them; and Beaufort generally got the better of his rival in every part of it. In 1440 he was able to carry the council with him when he supported the prayer of the Duke of Orleansa prisoner in England ever since the battle of Agincourthat he might be allowed to ransom himself. In 1444 he was in favour of making a truce with France, and in 1445, of King Henry's wedding Margaret Anjou even at the cost of giving up Anjou to her father René; and he prevailed in all.

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hey readily and as in favour of sill conquests to be war until the This, indeed, een them; and a rival in every the council with the Orleans—of Agincourt—lf. In 1444 he France, and in the Anjou even ther Rene; and

4. Two years later (1447) both Gloucester and Beaufort passed away within two months of each other, and left their places to others. The nobility now split into two factions—that of Queen Margaret, of which De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, were the leading men, and that of Richard Plantagenet, duke of Suffolk, died, 1450. of York, whose fast friends were Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, and his son, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. These three Richards were bound together by the very strongest family ties, for Cicely, the sister of the elder

and aunt of the younger of the Nevilles, was the wife of Plantagenet.

5. The appearance of this prince marks the near approach of the Wars of the Roses. He was the son of the earl of Cambridge who died by the axe Richard in 1415, and, more important still, of Anne Plantagenet Mortimer, sister of the youth who in 1399 duke of York, died. stood next to the throne after Richard II. As this youth and his only brothe; were now dead without issue, Richard of York inherited whatever right to the crown the being first in lineal descent from Edward III. could give; for his ancestor, Lionel, was Edward III.'s third son, while Henry VI.'s ancestor, John of Gaunt, was Edward III.'s fourth son. Yet if the usage of earlier times were to settle the question, the lawful right was clearly on Henry's side. His grandfather had been chosen king by parliament, and more than one Act had settled the crown in his family, which had now been the kingly line for more than half a century. English nobility had sworn fealty to him. But in the middle of the fifteenth century the usage of earlier times could not settle such a question when such a king as Henry VI. sat on the throne of Edward I.

6. At first York does not seem to have thought of claim-

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ing the crown. He merely longed for power, looked on York's aims. it as his due, and was in a rage at seeing it in in the hands of Suffolk and Somerset. He and his allies, the Nevilles, watched the course of events, eager to get a chance of crushing the men whom they hated. Suffolk and Somerset had become very unpopular—Suffolk because he was the envoy who made the bargain to give up Anjou and Maine, Somerset because he was in command when Normandy was lost. In 1450 an impeachment overthrew Suffolk, who was then lawlessly seized and beheaded

Suffolk at sea when he was on his way to exile on the Continent. York was at this time in Ireland as Lieutenant; and there is no proof that he had any share in bringing about Suffolk's fall and death.

7. It is a sign of the general uneasiness which prevailed, that after this event the commons of Kent rose in arms under one John Cade, and marched upon Cade's rising in Kent. London. They are said to have been frightened at a report that the court intended to punish severely the men of Kent because the ships that had waylaid Suffolk had sailed from Kent, and the unlucky nobleman's headless body had been thrown ashore on the coast of Kent. Their rising had the usual fate of such enterprises. After some successes, a victory at Sevenoaks, in which Stafford, who commanded against Cade, was killed, a short stay in Southwark, and an occa sional visit to London, the rebels were partly beaten, partly persuaded to give up their enterprise. Cade tried to escape, but was overtaken and killed, and a few others were put to death. But there was little blood shed after the affair was over.

8. Somerset now took Suffolk's place, and for three years (1450-53) kept, with the queen's help, the reins of power in his own hands. He had little peace, however, during this time. In 1450 York came back from Ire-

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land, entered London at the head of 4,000 men, and making his way into Henry's presence, complained of many wrongs and slights done to Edmund Beaufort. him. Henry answered mildly, and promised duke of to call a parliament. He kept his promise. Somerset,

died, 1455. The commons ranged themselves on the side of York; and Somerset was sent to prison. It was even moved that York should be declared heir to the crown, as no child had been as yet born to the king. Yet in a short time Somerset was released, and was as high in the king's favour as ever, whilst York withdrew to his castle of Ludlow. In 1452 York was persuaded to visit the king, and then was made prisoner. But Somerset was afraid to go any farther against one so powerful, and having forced him to make a public statement of his loyalty, allowed him to go free.

9. Next year (1453) the queen gave birth to a son, and Plantagenet's hopes of a peaceful succession Prince to the throne came to an end; for between 1447 and 1453, Henry had been the only born, 1453. living descendant of Henry IV., on whose heirs the crown had been settled by act of parliament in 1406. If he were to die without issue, York could not have been kept out of the succession. It is possible that York's dislike of Somerset may have arisen from a suspicion that he, as next in descent from John of Gaunt after the king, had also an eye to the crown. But two months before the birth of his son, the king fell ill, and lost his wits; and Somerset was driven from power. The council sent him to the Tower, and empowered York to open Parliament as the king's lieutenant. Henry's intellect seemed to have utterly gone; and the King Henry Lords (as yet the Commons were not allowed loses his wits, 7453. to have a voice on such a question as the Regency) made York Protector of the realm. He did not enjoy the office

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long. In 1455 the king's reason suddenly came back to him. York ceased to be Protector; and Margaret and Somerset returned to power. York lost even his government of Calais; and his friends were driven from office. Such treatment he felt to be unbearable; and accordingly he marched with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick on London, and began the Wars of the Roses.

CHAPTER III.

WARS OF THE ROSES AND HOUSE OF YORK.

1. THE Wars of the Roses were so called from the Yorkists having taken a white, the Lancastrians a red rose as their badge. The first battle of the war was fought in 1455. at St. Albans, the last in 1485, near Bosworth. Between these two events as many as ten other battles General character of the Wars of the Roses. took place. They were different in manyways from other wars. They were wars of noble houses. The mass of the people took no great part in them; and thus, though more blood was shed by them on the field and on the scaffold than at any other time in England, the nation did not suffer very much from them. No institutions were endangered by them. The life of the country went on as usual. Every Englishman dwelt secure under the shelter of the laws. But they made great destruction among the noble houses. The ranks of these were already thinned by the troubles of the days of Edward II. and Richard II. In the Wars of the Roses they well-nigh perished altogether, for in these wars little mercy was shown by either party. The men of rank who fell into the hands of their foes after a defeat were sent straight to the scaffold. In this respect they are a great contrast both to the wars of the thirteenth

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from the Yorks a red rose as s fought in 1455, orth. Between en other battles erent in manyey were wars of took no great od was shed by an at any other ffer very much gered by them. Every Englishthe laws. But noble houses. by the troubles . In the Wars together, for in ner party. The heir foes after a In this respect f the thirteenth

and to those of the seventeenth century. One unhappy result followed from them,—the king's power became almost the only strong thing in the state. Standing no longer in awe of the noble class, who had often curbed his authority, he was able for a time to work his will without any check.

2. On reaching St. Albans, York found that the king and Somerset were lying with a force inside the town. After a short pause he attacked them, and by the help of Warwick, gained a complete victory. Fight of Somerset and three other lords were killed. 1455. York went on to London, carrying the king with him, and at once took the management of affairs to himself. Later in the year the king fell ill of his former disease; and York became again Protector. In a few months Henry again recovered, and York again ceased to be Protector. But he still continued to be the foremost man in the State under the king.

3. It was a very uneasy time, however. faction was watching eagerly for a chance against the Yorkists. In 1458 the two parties made a great show of being reconciled; but parted only to hate each other more than ever. At last the storm burst. How it came about cannot be exactly known; but in 1459 the Yorkists and Lancastrians were again in arms against each other.

After a victory at Bloreheath, Salisbury joined his troops to those of York and Warwick; Fight of and the combined force awaited the approach of the king's army at Ludford, near Ludlow. trightened at a part of their force going over to Henry, the leaders suddenly fled, and sought shelter -York in Ireland, Salisbury and Warwick at Flight of Calais, of which place the latter was governor.

A parliament, held the same year at Coventry, proclaimed them all traitors.

4. In the following summer (1460) there was another sudden change. Warwick and Salisbury landed at Sandwich, and marched upon London, gathering troops as they went. Finding the king gone, they followed on his track, and overtook him at Northampton. Fight of Northamp-Here there was another battle; Henry was ton, 1460. beaten and taken prisoner, while the duke of Buckingham, three other peers, and three hundred knights and gentlemen fell on the Lancastrian side. A meeting of parliament at Westminster followed, at which Richard of York laid before the lords a formal statement York claims the crown, of his claim to the crown. The lords were 1460. very unwilling to take up the question; but on being pressed for an answer they said that York's claim was well founded, but advised that Henry should be allowed to keep the crown during his life. agreed to: Henry was to remain king, and York was to succeed on Henry's death. But Margaret, who had fled to Scotland after the battle of Northampton, crossed the border and began to make head in the north. York and Salisbury marched to crush her, but venturing into the

field with a very small force, were themselves Fight of Wakefield: crushed at Wakefield on December 30, 1460. York slain, York was among the slain; Salisbury was 1460.

beheaded by the victors the next day.

5. The quarrel was now taken up by York's eldest son, Edward, earl of March, who on hearing of his father's death, gathered round him the wild spirits of the Welsh Marches, always loyal to his house, and moved upon London. When on his way he had to fight Fights of at Mortimer's Cross to free his army from the Mortimer's Cross and Lancastrian force, led by Jasper Tudor, which St. Albans, 1461. kept following him. He beat Tudor, and pushed on to London. Whilst these things were going on, Margaret and her partisans were also on their way to

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lest son, father's Welsh d upon to fight rom the er, which or, and e going way to London, and before Edward came up had fought with and overcome Warwick at St. Albans, and recovered the king's person. But Edward was able to join his men with what remained of Warwick's army; and even Margaret was not daring enough to attack this new force. She fell back northwards; Edward then entered London in triumph, and was hailed as king (March 1461).

CHAPTER IV.

LINE OF YORK.

I. EDWARD IV. reigned for 22 years (1461-1483); for five months of which he was, however, an exile from his kingdom. The first event of his reign was the bloodiest fight of the war; for the Lan-Edward IV. castrian leaders still held the north; and king, 1461-Edward and Warwick hastened against them with an army of 49,000 men. On Palm Sunday the rival forces met at Towton, in southern York-Battle of shire. The slaughter that ensued surpassed Towton, anything of the kind that had ever taken place in England. Forty thousand are said to have fallen on the field. Yorkists won the day. Henry, Margaret, their son Edward, Somerset, and the other noble friends of the Red Rose made for Scotland, while Edward entered York. Again there was a meeting of parliament, in which Edward's kingship was fully recognized. The three Lancastrian kings were declared usurpers; and the leading Lancastrian nobles were proclaimed traitors.

able to keep the crown he had won without meeting with any serious reverse. He had one sleepless foe—Margaret. She sought allies in Scotland and in France. and

twice led an armed force into northern England. She was beaten in both attempts; and in the second—which Margaret's was made in 1464—her friends were twice over-invasions of thrown by John Neville, marquis of Montague, a brother of Warwick's. In 1465 the hapless Henry, who had lain in hiding for some time, was found in Yorkshire and brought to London.

3. Indeed, Edward's throne would have been quite secure had he not driven Warwick into the ranks of his foes. How the deadly quarrel between the king and his too powerful subject came about cannot be certainly known; but it was, in all likelihood, a result of Warwick Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, and Edward quarrel. widow of Sir John Grey, whom he had met by accident, and secretly wedded, in 1464. The lady had many kinsfolk-children, father, brothers, sisters. These gathered round Edward's throne, rose high in royal favour. and seemed to have thrust aside those who had stood by the Yorkist cause in its darkest hour, and won the king his crown. A coldness sprang up between Edward and Warwick. The king was jealous of a subject whose influence was greater than his own, and who was popularly called 'the king-maker.' The subject was in a rage with the king on account of real or fancied wrongs. The cloud that had risen between the cousins grew blacker and blacker. Moreover, Warwick had given offence to Edward on a point on which he felt very strongly. He had, in 1469, married Isabella, the eldest of his daughters (he had no male children), to the king's eldest living brother, George, duke of Clarence, who was as yet the next male heir to the throne. The breach went on widening, until at last we find Warwick and Clarence exiles in France, and making an alliance with Margaret to restore Henry to the throne.

4. Accordingly, Warwick, bringing his son-in-law with

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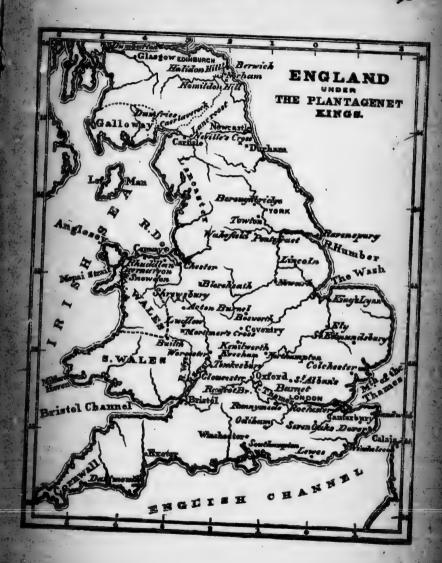
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him, in the autumn of 1470, sailed from France and landed at Dartmouth. There was a general rush of fighting men to his standard. With these he went northwards in search of Edward, who Warwick had gone thither to put down, a rising. Henry VI Edward finding himself almost without a follower, his men having gone over in great numbers to Warwick, fled to King's Lynn, and thence sailed away to Holland. He sought a refuge with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who was the husband of his sister Margaret. Thus the Red Rose triumphed once more. Henry was drawn from the Tower and set again on the throne. He did not enjoy it long; for in a few months Edward reappeared, having landed at Ravenspurg (March 1471); marching southwards, he was joined on the way by the fickle Clarence, and soon found himself in London. Thence issuing, he engaged Warwick at Barnet on Easter Sunday, and overthrew him. Warwick and his brother Montague were bury, 1471. killed. Another victory, won three weeks later at Tewkesbury over Margaret, who had landed in England the very day of Warwick's death, left Edward apparently without a single person to fear; for the lad Edward was slain at Tewkesbury, Henry shortly afterwards died the mysterious death usual with dethroned kings in England, and Margaret was a prisoner.

5. Little notice need be taken of the rest of the events of Edward's reign. In 1475 he invaded France, but only to make the peace of Pecquigny with Lewis XI., in which Lewis agreed to pay him 75,000 Peace of crowns at once and 50,000 yearly. It was Pecquigny, then that Lewis ransomed Margaret of Anjou, for she was his kinswoman. In 1478 George of Clarence was tried before the Lords, found guilty of treason, and suffered death in the Tower; and between 1480 and 1483

there was a war with Scotland in which the king's youngest brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester, recovered Edward IV. Berwick from the Scots (it had been lost in dies, 1483, 1461) for the last time. In April 1483, King Edward died.

6. He left behind him two sons, Edward and Richard. the one twelve, the other ten years old. Richard of Gloucester was their only surviving uncle, Edward V. 1483. and therefore their natural guardian. Richard was an able man, but crafty and unprincipled; and there is little doubt that soon after his brother's Richard. death he thought of seizing the crown for himduke of Gloucester. self. In any case the history of the so-called reign of Edward V.—which lasted for only two months and a half-is a mere record of the bold strokes Richard made to clear his path to the throne and his stealthy approaches along it. When Edward IV. died, Gloucester was in the north, and young Edward at Ludlow, in the keeping of Earl Rivers, his mother's brother, and Sir Richard Grey, her son. On hearing of the king's death. both Richard and Edward set out, each with his friends. for London. They met on the way; and Richard had Rivers and Grey arrested and sent northwards. On reaching London he placed the lad in the Tower, to be kept there until the day fixed for his coronation, and was himself named Protector of the kingdom. The queen's kinsmen had been greatly disliked by the old nobility. who looked on them as upstarts; and though Richard's doings with regard to them had no colour of law or justice, no one spoke against them. Next. Lord Hastings, a man not likely to be shaken in his loyalty to the children of his late master, King Edward, Lord Haswas one day beheaded within the Tower tings murdered. grounds on Richard's mere order. At the same time Morton, bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley were



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laid hold of and kept in prison. The queen dowager, who had fled for refuge to a holy place, was persuaded to give up her son, York; and he was at once sent to join his brother in the Tower. Rivers, Grey, and their friends were put to death in the north; and armed men from Yorkshire began to muster in London. Then one Dr. Shaw was put up at St. Paul's Cross to tell the people that King Edward had never been really married to Dame Elizabeth Grey, as he had before been contracted to a Lady Eleanor Butler; and that his children were therefore not his lawful heirs. At last the duke of Buckingham, himself a descendant of Edward III. through that duke of Gloucester who died at Calais in 1397, went to the Guildhall and made before the mayor and citizens there assembled a full statement of Richard's title. It met with some show of approval; and next day Richard was asked to take the crown by a body of men acting on behalf of what they called 'the three Estates of the Realm of England; and after a little display of coyness, he accepted. A parliament had been called for that day; and it is likely that many of those who offered the crown were members of the Lords or Commons. The petition stated that King Edward's children were 'bastards,' Clarence's attainted, and that Richard was therefore the undoubted heir of Richard, duke of York.

7. Richard III. reigned for little more than two years.

One of his first acts was to have his nephews murdered.

Richard Thetruth of the story, that they were smothered in the Tower by Miles Forest and John Dighton, leaves little to be explained in the history of the day; its falsehood would leave a good deal. He was next called on to deal with a plot and rising in which his former friend, Buckingham, took an active part. The rising failed; and Buckingham was taken and

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beheaded. But the plan that Buckingham had tried to carry out lived on, and led before long to Richard's de-There was then living in exile in Britanny one Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, who, owing to the havoc that war and murder had made of the Lancastrian family, had become its foremost member of English birth. He was the son of Margaret Beaufort and Edmund Tudor, and inherited, through his mother, the headship of the House of Beaufort, sprung from John of Gaunt and Catherine Swinford. Richard's crimes had lost him the love of many of the old friends of his house; and an alliance was now made between these and the remaining friends of the Lancastrian cause. It was agreed between them that their long feud should be healed by the marriage of Henry Tudor with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV.; and that at the same time Richard should be assailed by an invasion from abroad and a rising in England. The first attempt came to nothing; but the second succeeded. In the summer of 1485, Henry landed at Milford Haven in South Wales, and after a somewhat roundabout march, engaged Richard at Bosworth on August 22. Richard fell on the field, and with him the Plantagenet line of kings ended.

Table showing the royal descent of the Tudors.

John of Gaunt (by Catherine Swinford).

John Beaufort, earl of Somerset. Henry Beaufort (cardinal).

John, duke of Somerset. Edmund, duke of Somerset (killed 1455).

Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond. Edmund (beheaded 1471).

We have now got to the end of a very stirring time. Many things were done in it which we must disapprove of; but one good thing was gained by the English people during it. This was the winning of the liberties Summary. which we now enjoy. It is true that the king was quite as strong at the end of this time as he had been at the beginning. So many noble families were swept away in the Wars of the Roses that the king was no longer afraid of the nobility and was able to do almost anything he liked. But the work done by Simon de Montfort and Edward I., like all true work, did not die. Parliament still lived; and though for a long time it was well content to let the king have his way in most things, yet it still kept all its powers. Without its consent no money could be lawfully taken from the people and no laws could be made.

The wars with France and Scotland had a good deal to do with making Parliament so strong. In themselves these wars were barren of everything but evil; but indirectly they did much good. For from Parliament only could the king get the means of carrying them on. Parliament had therefore to be called very often; and thus the power of the Commons became great. So it came about that the one abiding result of these two hundred and seventy years was that the people had found out the way of governing themselves.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

The events are here given, not in the order in which they are found in the book, but in the order in which they happened.

1215. 1216.	The Great Charter is granted Lewis of France comes to England King John dies	PAG
	HENRY III., 1216-1272.	
1216.	The Great Charter is shortened and confirmed .	
1217.	The French are beaten at Lincoln and at Sandwick. The Treaty of Lambeth is made	•
1919.	William Marshall dies	TO
225.	The Great Charter is given its final shape	12
	Gascony is won back from the French by William Longsword	19
1932.	Hubert de Burgh falls from power	40
	Simon de Montfort comes to England	12
1236.	King Henry marries Eleanor of Provence	15
1238.	Simon de Montfort marries Eleanor, King Henry's sister	13
1239.	Edward, afterwards Edward I., is born .	15
1242.	King Henry tries to win back Poitou, but is beaten by Lewis IX. at Taillebourg	
1246.	The word 'Parliamen' first used in England	40
	ensured in England	11

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1254.	accepts from the base the lands.	PAGE
	of offing for his son Edmund	
	Anights of the shire are called to Parliament	14
,t258.	animients meet at London and Orford	EX
	Provisions of Oxford are drawn up	15
	The Barons take the Royal power to themselves	16
1263.	- ne Daions war Degins	16
1264.	Lewis of France issues the Award of Amiene	16
	Simon de Montfort beats Henry at Lewes	17
1265.	The towns and boroughs send representatives to	17
	* amament .	
	Simon de Montfort is beaten and killed at Evesham	18
1266.	ring rienry grants the Dictum de Konilanowsk	. 19
1267.	and the Barons' war ende	19
1970.	Edward goes on a crusade	20
1272.	Henry III. dies	20
		20
	EDWARD I., 1272-1307.	
1272.	The English pobles sweet feelers To	
	The English nobles swear fealty to Edward while still away from England	
1274.	Edward comes back to England.	74
1277.	Edward invades Wales. Llewellyn yields to his	90
	power Power yields to his	
1282.	Llewellyn and his brother David rebel. Edward	25
	again and his brother David rebel. Edward again avades Wales. Llewellyn is killed	
1283.	parliament is held at Acton Rumal Devil	26
	wales dies a traitor's death	
1284.	Wales is placed under the crown of England	26
1286.	mexander III. of Scotland dies	27
1290.	The Treaty of Brigham is made	29
	I ne maid of Norway dies	30
	The Jews are driven from England	30
1291.	Edward is asked to judge between the claimants	1.56 3.58
1292.	of the Scottish Infana	30
294.	Edward gives judgment in favour of John Baliol	31
-94.	France wins Guienne from Edward by	-
1995.	vyar breaks out with France	40
-93.	Wales rebels, but is soon overcome by Edward.	27
	The first full parliament meets	20

*	Chronological Table.	97
1005	Scotland and France make an alliance against	PAGN
zagó.		32
	Battle of Dunbar is fought; and Scotland is conquered by Edward	33
1997.	The Scots rise in arms under William Wallace	33
	Philip of France	34
	The English are beaten at Cambushanneth	34
	ine Confirmation of the Charters is granted	34
tag6,	is beaten at Falkirk Wallace	23
	The war with France ends	34
1303.	King Edward invades Scotland for the third time .	41
	Scotland is again conquered	35
1304.	Stirling is besieged and taken by Edward	35
1306.	Robert Bruce takes up arms in Scotland	35 36
	Robert Bruce is beaten at Methyen	36
1307.	Edward I. dies	37
	EDWARD II., 1307-1327.	3,
1307.	Edward II. leaves the war with Bruce.	
1308.	Piers Gaveston, Edward's favourite, makes himself hateful to the barons, and is banished	37
1309.	Gaveston is allowed to come back	74
1310.	Edward consents to the appointment of the Lords Ordainers	74
	Edward leads an army into Scotland without success	58
1312.	Gaveston is put to death by the Earl of Lancaster and other barons	37
1314.	Robert Bruce overthrows Edward's army at Bannock-	74
1318.	Berwick is won back to School by Robert Bruce	38
1319.	A truce for two years is made with Bruce	38
1322.	The Lancastrian party is beaten at Boroughbridge.	38
	I nomas, Earl of Lancaster, is put to death	74 /
	Edward invades Scotland. Bruce invades Factoret	74
1323.	in truce for influen years is made with Dobert Down	38/
1324.	arise between Edward and Charles of	38
W	France about Guienne	41
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Chronological Table.

1325.	Queen Isabella plots with Roger Mortimer for	
	Edward's overthrow	48
2396 ,	Isabella and Mortimer land in England	43
1327.	Edward II. is dethroned and his son Edward set up	
	in his place	74
,		
	EDWARD III., 1327-1377.	
1327.	The Scots break the truce and invade England .	98
	Edward II. is murdered in Berkeley Castle	3-
1328?	Peace is made with Scotland at Northampton	40
1329.	Robert Bruce dies	40
1330.	Roger Mortimer is overthrown and hanged	43
1332.	War breaks out in Scotland again	43
1333.	The Scots are beaten by Edward at Halidon Hill:	37
	and Berwick is again taken by the English	43
1337.	The Hundred Years' War begins	44
¥340.	King Edward wins the naval battle of Sluys	45
1342.	Jane of Flanders is besieged in Hennebon, but is	10
	relieved by the English under Sir Walter Manny	45
X346.	King Edward and his son, the Black Prince, win a	
	great victory at Cressy	47
	The Scots are beaten at Neville's Cross.	48
1347.	King Edward takes Calais from the French	48
1349.	The Great Plague sweeps over England . 49	
1356.	The Black Prince wins the fight of Poitiers	50
1357.	John, King of France, is brought a prisoner to England	50
1360.	The Great Peace is made at Bretigny	50
1361.	The Great Plague comes back to England	49
1364.	King John of France dies in England	5x
366.	Edward refuses to pay tribute to the Pope	67
367.	The Black Prince invades Castile; and overthrows	,
	Henry of Trastamare at Najera .	51
369.	The Hundred Years' War breaks out afresh	58
370.	The Black Prince orders the massacre of the men	3
	of Limoges	52
379-3.		60
376	The Good Parliament tries to reform the government.	60
	The Black Prince dies	6x
		- m

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		,
1377.	A poll-tax is laid on the people . Edward III. dies	PAGI 65 29, 60
	RICHARD II., 1377-1399.	
1380.	Another poll-tax is laid on the people .	65
1381.	The Commons rise under Wat Tyler and other leaders	65
1382.	The first law against heresy is passed	71
1384.	John Wiclif dies	69
1386.	The Duke of Gloucester forms a party against the King. The royal powers are given to a Council of Regency	~
1387.	Richard tries to regain his power. His friends are scattered at Radcot Bridge	75
1388.	The Wonderful, or Merciless, Parliament puts many of Richard's friends to death	75
1389.	King Richard takes back the power into his own	75
1393.	The Law of Præmunire is passed	76
1394.	King Richard leads an army to Ireland.	71
374	The Lollards become troublesome	77
1397.	King Richard takes vengeance on his enemies, and makes himself a despot	70
1398.	Henry Bolingbroke and the Duke of Norfolk quarrel and are banished	
1399.	Henry Bolingbroke comes back to England, Richard	76
	is dethroned, and Henry is chosen king .	77
	THE LANCASTRIAN KINGS.	
	HENNY IV., 1399-1413.	
140E.	A law is passed for burning heretics. William Sawtree is burnt	
	Owen Glendower takes up arms in Wales	71
I402.	The Percies beat the Douglas at Homildon Hill	78
1403.	The Percies rebel against King Henry, but are beaten at Shrewsbury	
1405.	Scrope, Archbishop of York, is beheaded by the	78
	order of King Henry	78

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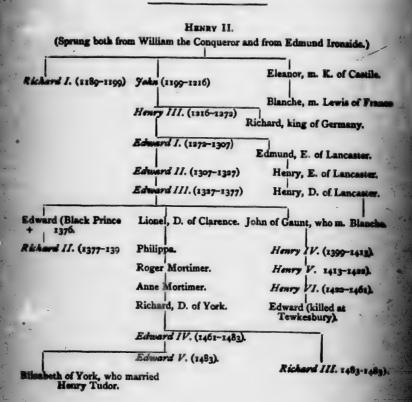
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240	Percy, Earl of Northumberland, is killed at Bram- ham Moor	PAG
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	HENRY V., 1413-1422.	,
1414	Sir John Oldcastle, escapes	
1415	King Henry makes war on France takes Ward	71
	and wins the light of Apincourt	3. 54
1417.	King Henry again invades France, and begins the conquest of Normandy	
1418.	Rouen is besieged by King Henry	54
	Sir John Oldcastle falls into the hands of his enemies, and is put to death	54
1419.	King Henry finishes his conquest of Normandy	73
	John, Duke of Burgundy, is murdered; and his son, Philip, joins the English	54
1490.	Henry and Charles VI. of France make the Peace of Troyes	54
1491.	The English are beaten by the French at Beauty	54
1499.	Henry V. dies	55
	HENRY VI., 1422-1461.	
1422.	Charles VI. of France dies	55
1424.	The English beat the French at Vernewil.	22
1425.	The 'Parliament of Bats' tries to reconcile Beaufort and Gloucester	•
1429.	Orleans is besieged by the Earl of Salisbury	86
	Jeanne D'Arc drives the English from before Or- leans; takes Jargeau; beats the English at Pater	55
430.	and conducts Charles VII. to Rheims to be crowned	55
431.	Jeanne falls into the hands of the Burgundians 55.	56
734.	Jeanne is burnt at Rouen	56
435-	Henry VI, is crowned at Paris	57
T30"	A General Congress is held at Arras. Philip of Bur-	
	gundy and Charles VII. become friends Duke of Bedford dies	57
436,	The English lose Paris	57
44.	A true mad with France	57
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1449-5	- Total Will Ditck Normandy from the Party of	8:
1450.	on his way to the Continent	57
	The men of Kent rise in arms under John Co.	81
1451.		89
1453.	Castillon	57
	King Henry loses his wits	57
1454.	The Duke of York is made Protector of the king-	83
1455.	King Henry recovers	84
	The first battle of St. Albans is fought, and the Wars	84
	or and Moses Depin	
1458.	The Yorkists and Lancastrians make a public pro- fession of friendship	85
¥459.	The Yorkist leaders flee from England	85
1460.	The Yorkist leaders come back and drive the Queen and her friends from the kingdom	85
	The Duke of York is killed at Wakefield	86
1461.	The battles of Mortimer's Cross and Second St.	86
	Albans are fought	
	Edward, Earl of March, becomes King.	86
	o match, becomes King .	87
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	EDWARD IV., 1461-1483.	
146x.	King Edward wins the battle of Towton and chases the Lancastrian leaders from England	
1464.	The Lancastrians make head in the North, but are	87
	Double at Henretty Moor and Heart am	
	King Edward marries Dame Flinchash C	88
466.		88
	parts of England	88
470.	The Earl of Warwick goes over to the Lancastrians,	9
	chases Edward from England, and places	
	Henry VI. upon the throne	

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1471.	Control Ditte to Engine and beats the	PAGE
	Henry VI. dies in the Tower	89
1474.	King Edward raises benevolences	89
1475.	King Edward invades France, but makes peace at Pecquigny	
1478.		89
1480.	George, Duke of Clarence, is put to death . War breaks out with Scotland	89
1482,	Richard Duke of Glaverstand	90
1483.	Richard, Duke of Gloucester, takes Berwick Edward IV. dies	90
7-3-		90
	EDWARD V., April to July 1483.	
2483 .	Lord Hastings, Earl Rivers, and other friends of Edward V., are put to death. The crown is offered to Richard, Duke of Gloucester	90
	RICHARD III., 1483-1485.	
2483.	Edward V. and his brother are murdered	
	Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, agrees to marry Elizabeth of York	90
	Buckingham rises in arms have	93
1484.	Buckingham rises in arms, but is taken and beheaded Parliament makes many good laws	98
2485.	Henry Tudor lands in Wales. Richard is beaten and killed near Bosworth	
	and amou near Bostoorth .	00

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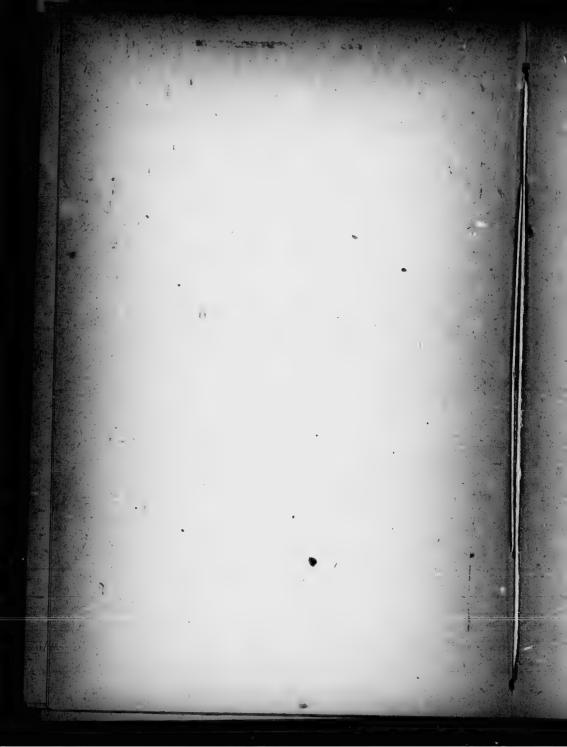
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